



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

- This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.
- A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.
- This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.
- The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.
- When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

**The Second Life of Soviet Photomontage, 1935 -
1980s.**

By Konstantin Akinsha

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Edinburgh

2012

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores the development of Soviet photomontage from the second half of the 1930s to the end of the 1970s. Until now, the transformation of the modernist medium and its incorporation into the everyday practice of Soviet visual propaganda during and after the Second World War has not attracted much scholarly attention. The firm association of photomontage with the Russian Avant-garde in general, and with Constructivism in particular, has led art historians to disregard the fact that the medium was practised in the USSR until the final days of the Soviet system. The conservative government organisations in control of propaganda preserved satirical photomontage in its post-Dadaist phase and Heartfield-like form, finding it useful in the production of negative propaganda.

The mutation of montage principles in Soviet art took peculiar forms. Evgeny Dobrenko observed that ‘Soviet photography was to remain [...] suspended for subsequent decades between theatre and cinema on the one hand and painting on the other.’¹ This judgement could equally be applied to photomontage. Mimicking cinema, Soviet photographers tried to create a new medium, which could be broadly defined as ‘motionless film’. They even wanted to project these ‘photographic films’ onto the walls of buildings and onto the movie screens of cinemas around the country. The creators of such films also employed cinematic

¹ Evgeny Dobrenko, *Political Economy of Socialist Realism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 275.

montage in organising the still photographs, which were combined into montage phrases.

This new medium of the Soviet *laterna magica* actually represented the reinvention of an old practice, known since the days of the French Revolution, with the difference that in the USSR narrative photographic stories and not conventional images were projected.² Naturally, the new medium was bound to lose any competition with film itself, but it mutated into the medium of slide films [*dia-filmy*] for children, which were extremely popular and remained in production until 1991.

In the mid-1930s, photography tried to compete with cinema, appropriating the devices of cinematic montage, but by the end of the decade, photomontage had started to imitate the compositional structure of painting. Such photomontages recalled the canvases of Nicolas Poussin rather than the chaotic grouping of photographic elements in the early works of Aleksandr Rodchenko. This new type of photomontage became particularly prevalent as the main form of propaganda during the Second World War.

The saint-like heroes in the photomontage posters of Viktor Koretsky had their opposite number in the images of evil, Nazi monsters produced for propaganda that was to be distributed among the German and Axis soldiers on the Eastern

² Helen Weston, 'The Light of Wisdom: Magic Lanternists as Truth-tellers in Post-revolutionary France', in *Efflorescence of Caricature, 1759 – 1838* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 79-93.

Front. Photomontage produced in the USSR for the purposes of negative propaganda was inspired by the works of John Heartfield, whose vicious montaged caricatures were plagiarised by Soviet artists from the second half of the 1930s onwards. The photomontage-cartoon survived the Second World War and became the only field in which photomontage was used in the Soviet Union after 1945. Remakes of Heartfield's montages decorated the pages of leading Soviet newspapers until the end of the Communism.

This strange preservation of a modernist medium within the corpus of Soviet official art serves to highlight the complicated nature of Soviet art. Socialist Realism had been adopted by government decree, but remained, until the last days of its existence, a rather fluid conception, changing and mutating at every historical turn.³

Photomontage played an extremely important role in the formation of both Soviet art and Soviet propaganda. The medium became politicized in 1924, a year after the publication of Aleksandr Rodchenko's photomontage illustrations for Vladimir Mayakovsky's poem *About This* [*Pro eto*].

³ The term Socialist Realism was coined by Ivan Gronskey (Fedulov), the head of the Organisational Committee of the Union of Writers in 1932. However it was recognised as the only appropriate style of Soviet art after the First Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934. During the congress Maxim Gorky gave a speech dedicated to the formulation of the conception of Socialist Realism.

In 1983, Christina Lodder published a ground-breaking book on Russian Constructivism, which addressed the issue of the establishment of the photomontage medium.⁴ Lodder wrote:

Recognizing the impossibility of working within the existing industrial framework of the Soviet Union in the early years of the 1920s, the Constructivists in general eagerly embraced graphic design as an area of work which could respond to their social and political imperatives, and through which they could participate in the construction of a Socialist society, although at one remove from the material constructions they initially envisaged producing. [...]

This trend was intensified by the pressure of the cultural climate of the time towards Realism. This gradual confinement of Constructivist activity within generally two-dimensional display tasks led to a consequent limitation of their own aspirations. Where they had previously sought to restructure the whole living environment from the inside, they now were only able to exercise their creativity within the relatively cosmetic and transient medium of photomontage and exhibition display design. The dimension of social construction had been pared away, leaving them with merely artistic tasks. At the same time use of photomontage and the photograph led them back to the real image and thus to traditional concepts of art and its representational role.⁵

⁴ Christina Lodder, *Russian Constructivism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 191–204.

⁵ Lodder, *Russian Constructivism*, p. 204.

This judgment provoked a controversy, which started a year after the book's publication and has still raging. In 1984 Benjamin Buchloh wrote:

In an excellent recent study of Russian Constructivism, Christina Lodder has argued that it was the failure of the constructivists actually to implement their productivist program [...] that drove these artists into the field of typography, publication and poster design, agitational propaganda and exhibition design. [...] The problem with this criticism, [...] is that criteria of judgment that were originally developed within the framework of modernism are now applied to a practice of representation that had deliberately and systematically disassociated itself from that frame-work in order to lay the foundations of an art production that would correspond to the needs of a newly industrialized collective society.⁶

Soviet photomontage artists never tried to disassociate themselves from modernism, but were eager to serve the Soviet Union, which Buchloh defined as a 'newly industrialized collective society'. Yet the artists' service to the new society started long before the industrialization and collectivization of that society began. The 'artistic production' of the named artists was limited by the framework of propaganda. They did not lay the foundations of that propaganda, but simply served the established machinery of visual persuasion, being for some time more efficient in this service than their conservative enemies, who used the traditional

⁶ Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, 'From Faktura to Factography', *October*, 30 (1984), pp. 107–108.

medium of painting and conventional graphics to perform exactly the same task at the same time.

In 2005, more than twenty years after the release of *Russian Constructivism*, Christina Kiaer produced a fairly similar criticism of Lodder's analysis.⁷ Unlike Buchloh, she tried to prove that there was no conflict between Constructivist theory and the re-introduction of imagery. Kiaer forgot that the 'iconic image' to which the Constructivists returned after killing non-figurative painting, was rapidly transformed into a political icon.

In a sense, Constructivism, as the movement was called after the end of the laboratory period, did not achieve much. The artists were unable to become 'constructors of life' not only because of the poor state of Soviet industry but also because they themselves lacked any serious technical qualifications.

Unfortunately, some of the Constructivists' achievements enriched the list of eternal Russian symbols, like the Tsar-bell, which couldn't ring, and the Tsar-canon, which couldn't shoot canon. To these, Vladimir Tatlin added his mysterious creation called the *Letatlin* – the machine for flying, which couldn't fly. Artist Valentin Kurdov remembered that when the legendary pilot Valery Chkalov visited Tatlin's Moscow studio and asked the artist whether his machine

⁷ Christina Kiaer, *Imagine No Possessions: The Socialist Objects of Russian Constructivism* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005), p. 24.

could fly, Tatlin was visibly annoyed and screamed in answer, 'That's no concern of mine ... That's your business. So, you fly.'⁸

The Russian Constructivists, who dreamed of becoming demiurges of a new material world, in reality, proved to be no more than decorators, whose materials were limited to paper (book and poster design), plywood (decorations for the theatre and revolutionary holidays) and cloth (textile design). Their stage designs for a certain time defined the face of the Soviet Union. This visual dominance was quite ephemeral – the photomontage posters and coloured plywood constructions played the same role on Soviet city streets, as the stage drops depicting Potemkin villages performed on the Ukrainian steppe in the 18th century.⁹ They were only the signs of a modernization project, the realization of which belonged to the future, but the outline of which was possible to see in the present. Evgeny Dobrenko has argued that Socialist Realism was the production of 'visual and verbal substitutes for reality.'¹⁰ The Constructivists started the mass production of such 'visual substitutes' a long time before the doctrine of Socialist Realism was formulated.

⁸ Valentin Kurdov, 'O vzaimootnosheniyakh K. S. Malevicha i V. E. Tatlina', in I. Vakar and T. Mikienko, eds., *Malevich o sebe, sovremenniki o Maleviche. Pis'ma, dokumenty, vospominaniya, kritika*, 2 vols. (Moscow: RA, 2004), II, p. 396.

⁹ According to legend, Prince Potemkin installed these facades for Catherine the Great's trip to Crimea. See Aleksandr Panchenko, "Potemkinskie Derevni", *Kak Kul'turnyi Mif*, in *Russkaya Istoriya i Kul'tura: Raboty Raznykh Let* (St. Petersburg: Una, 1999), pp. 462-475.

¹⁰ Dobrenko, *Political Economy of Socialist Realism*, p. 6.

Photomontage played an extremely important role, not only in the history of Soviet art, but also in the history of Soviet propaganda – it became the main agitational tool of the period of the first Five-Year Plans and was instrumental in establishing Stalin's cult of personality. The fact that some photomontage artists, like Gustavs Klucis, became the victims of the monster that they helped to promote visually does not release them from all responsibility. Attempts of art historians to whitewash artists' biographies and to re-interpret their motivations are often naïve, if not misleading.¹¹ Likewise, to place the blame for the creation of Stalinism on such artists is equally naïve and misleading.¹²

Research into Soviet photomontage started over 30 years ago, but it is still far from complete. Monographs and exhibitions devoted to artists like Rodchenko, El Lissitzky and Klucis has helped to fill gaps in our knowledge.¹³ Erika Wolf's recent examination of the propaganda magazine *USSR in Construction* has finally provided an objective analysis of the role of artists in the propaganda machinery of the Soviet state.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the photomontage practice of 1920 -1930 still requires to be de-mythologized. The practical absence of a theory of montage

¹¹ Margarita Tupitsyn, *Gustavs Klucis and Valentina Kulagina: Photography and Montage After Constructivism* (New York: International Center of Photography; and Gottingen: Steidel, 2004), pp. 61–62.

¹² See Boris Groys, *The Total Art of Stalinism: Avant-Garde, Aesthetic Dictatorship, and Beyond* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1992)

¹³ See Aleksandr Rodchenko (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1998). <<http://www.moma.org/interactives/exhibitions/1998/rodchenko/index.html>> [accessed 28 November 2011].; Nancy Perloff and Brian Reed, eds., *Situating El Lissitzky: Vitebsk, Berlin, Moscow* (Los Angeles, Calif.: Getty Research Institute, 2003).; and Tupitsyn, *Gustavs Klucis and Valentina Kulagina*.

¹⁴ Erika Wolf, 'USSR in Construction: From Avant-garde to Socialist Realist Practice' (unpublished Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1998).

developed by its practitioners (with the exception of Klucis) has resulted in numerous attempts to explain and interpret photomontage practice by using the theory of film montage or the linguistic concepts of the Russian formalists.¹⁵ These attempts to turn photomontage artists into deep philosophers (which they obviously were not) do not help to elucidate the conditions, laws and practice that governed their production.

I hope that my research into those manifestations of photomontage that are still unknown will help to create a more comprehensive history of the medium in the Soviet Union and to demonstrate how modernist practices were incorporated into the Socialist Realist model. I have chosen to concentrate on artists such as Rodchenko, Klucis and to a lesser extent El Lissitzky, although the main focus of my thesis is the work of Viktor Koretsky and Aleksandr Zhitomirsky, who were destined to become the only artists regularly practising photomontage during the 1940s – 1950s, and in the case of Zhitomirsky – until the late 1980s. Being ‘his Royal Highness’s *photomonteurs*’ Koretsky and Zhitomirsky were not only permitted to use an inherently modernist medium in their works but they also succeeded in reconciling it with the Socialist Realist canon. The two of them made the second life of Soviet photomontage possible.

I want to express my gratitude to Alex Lachmann who gave me a chance to spend a few weeks working with his extensive archive and collection in Cologne. I am very grateful to the owner of the Ne Boltai! Collection, probably the richest

¹⁵ Cases of such intellectual ennoblement of photomontage artists are analysed in Chapter 1.

selection of the Soviet propaganda materials in private hands. I also appreciate the possibilities I was given to work at the Hoover Institution of Stanford University and Harvard University's various libraries. By sheer coincidence, when my thesis was already in progress, I became a visiting curator at the Chicago Art Institute, working on the exhibition *Windows on the War: Soviet TASS Posters at Home and Abroad, 1941–1945*. It was not directly connected with the topic of my dissertation, but illuminated numerous aspects of Soviet propaganda during the Second World War. I am indebted to my colleague Peter Zegers, the Rothman Family Research Curator of Department of Prints and Drawings for his valuable comments and observations. Last, but not least, I wish to express my gratitude to my tutor and friend Professor Christina Lodder, whose book on Russian Constructivism inspired me to find out what happened to the Soviet photomontage when Constructivism came to an end. Professor Lodder not only gave me valuable suggestions how to develop this thesis, but also spent uncountable hours helping me to edit the text. Without her help, and sometimes severe, but always constructive criticism, completion of this work would not have been possible. This thesis employs the British Museum system of transliteration, with the alteration that the Russian hard and soft signs have been omitted from the main body of the text. Russian surnames have usually been rendered according to this system, except where particular variants have become well established in Western usage, e. g. El Lissitzky, not Lazar Listsky.

Chapter 1:

PHOTOMONTAGE IN THE USSR: 1923 – 1940.

Photomontage was perhaps the most visible manifestation of Soviet Constructivism. Unable to realize its utopian dream of mass production of goods, the movement produced images instead. During the mid-1920s and early 1930s photomontage became the visual language of Soviet modernity, which was exported to the West and influenced graphic design and visual propaganda not only in democratic countries, but also in Fascist Italy and the Third Reich.¹⁶ The Fascists' and the Nazis' fascination with the medium proves that it does not possess an inherently 'leftist' character. Despite this, 'progressive' art historians have tried to discover an integral radical essence in photomontage¹⁷.

After 1923, photomontage rapidly came to dominate visual propaganda in the Soviet Union, and appeared in exhibition designs, newspapers, posters and the gigantic billboards erected as decorations for public holidays. Its popularity was

¹⁶ See Buchloh, 'From Faktura to Factography', pp. 82–119. The triumph of the medium was manifested in such projects as *The Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution*. See *Mostra Della Rivoluzione Fascista*, 1932. For an analysis of the exhibition, see Libero Andreotti, 'The Aesthetics of War: The Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution', *Journal of Architectural Education*, 45, No. 2 (1992), pp. 76–86. By the early 1930s, photomontage was being frequently used in Nazi propaganda posters, and photograph publications. See Sabine Kriebel, 'Photomontage in the Year 1932: John Heartfield and the National Socialists', *Oxford Art Journal*, 31, No. 1 (2008), pp. 99–127. After 1935, it was also used in exhibition design, such as *Great Anti-Bolshevik Exhibition of 1937*. See *Grosse antibolschewistische Ausstellung* (Berlin: Verlag für Kultur- u. Wirtschaftswerbung Daenell & Co., 1937); *The Eternal Jew* of 1938. See Konstantin Akinsha, 'Il Naso Di Alfred Flechtheim. Antisemitismo e Immagini Nella Propaganda Nazista', *Storicamente*, 4 (2008).

¹⁷ It is enough to mention the constantly repeated apocrypha that photomontage was invented by John Heartfield during the First World War as a medium to create 'coded' anti-militarist letters which could fool military censors. See Peter Howard Selz, *Art in a Turbulent Era* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1985), p. 203.

due to the convincing mechanical truth of the photographic elements employed and the stunning simplicity of the medium, which opened up endless possibilities for a quick, industrial-like assembling of prefabricated images. Photomontage realized the Taylorist fantasies of radical Constructivist artists. As Gustavs Klucis correctly noticed, ‘The old genres of the visual arts (drawing, painting, and engraving) proved to be inadequate to satisfy the mass agitational needs of the revolution because of their retrograde technique and working methods.’¹⁸ During the second half of the 1920s, artists replaced conventional graphic images with photographs, because a photograph’s objectivity was seen to be more convincing and more trustworthy, and using prefabricated elements was more efficient and less time-consuming than producing images by traditional means. In the early 1930s, photomontage artists combined photographic elements to exploit their accidental and mechanical character. They wanted to create a new type of art by combining photographs in juxtapositions and compositions that would generate new ideas and meanings.

During the 1940s and the early 1950s, the few remaining artists, who used photographic elements in their works, had to subordinate them to the methods of high art, transforming photomontage into a form of painting or graphic art. In the pecking order of the genres adopted by Socialist Realist theory only painting was considered a high art. By the late 1930s, photomontage was only being used in poster design and press illustration and had become a lowly hand-maid to painting. Soviet photomontage had a peculiar life. In just 17 years from 1923 to

¹⁸ Gustavs Klutsis, ‘Fotomontazh, kak novyi vid agitatsionnogo iskusstva’, *Literatura i iskusstvo*, 9, No. 10 (1931), pp. 86-95.

1940, the medium's development repeated, in a sense, the development of European painting from the Middle Ages to the Belle Epoch.

From Chaos to Order: The Tale of Two of Mayakovsky's poems, 1923-1926

In 1926, Viktor Shklovsky wrote about the Soviet fashion for photomontage which began in 1923 and quickly came to dominate graphic design:

We have witnessed the luxuriant flourishing of photomontage in Soviet art of the recent past... In my opinion, photomontage artists were not people with strong creative abilities. Using somebody else's photographic material, they did not take into account the spatial character of every shot, and worked with material photographed in different ways as if it was all photographed from the same distance.¹⁹

The theoretician was unhappy with the way photomontage artists usually treated photography – they destroyed the spatial essence of the medium by cutting out images and removing them from the system of linear perspective. They replaced the illusionistic space of photography with the chaotic accumulation of unrelated photo elements, photographed from different distances and in different lights, dooming them to co-exist on flat grounds, deprived of any three-dimensional illusion. According to Shklovsky, photomontage became a form of anti-photography, destroying all of its inherent qualities. The theoretician was severe - photomontage artists did not deserve any praise,

¹⁹ Viktor Shklovsky, 'Fotografiya i ee tembr', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 2, 1926, p. 195.

Their aesthetic sensibility was poor...

Photomontage [artists] devoid of any understanding of the rhythm of photography, worked with it relying on generality and simplification. As a result, they covered photographs with triangles and black lines. Today, all of these, have become as inappropriate in book design as the gilded edges of the magazine *Awakening* [*Probuzhdenie*].²⁰

Shklovsky acidly equated photomontage with the pretentious design of a kitschy 'decadent' magazine. Nevertheless, photomontage undoubtedly dominated the Soviet printing industry. The first short article about photomontage appeared on the pages of *LEF*, the magazine of the Left Front of the Arts, and stated:

We understand photomontage as the use of the photographic snapshot as a visual device. Combining photographic shots replaces the composition of graphic images. The meaning of such a replacement is that a photograph is not the drawing of a visual fact, but its precise fixation. This precision and documentary character give the photograph a power to influence the viewer that the graphic image will never be able to achieve.

A poster about famine using photographs of starving people will make a more powerful impression than a poster with graphic images of the same starving people.

²⁰ Shklovsky, 'Fotografiya i ee tembr'. The magazine *Probuzhdenie* subtitled '*Magazine of Fine Arts and Literature*' was published in 1906-1917 in St. Petersburg-Petrograd by the poet and playwright Nikolai Koretsky. The lavish design of the publication became for Viktor Shklovsky and many of his contemporaries a sign of bad taste.

Advertisements using a photograph of the advertised product are more effective than a drawing of the same object.²¹

The article cited Aleksandr Rodchenko's illustrations for Vladimir Mayakovsky's poem *About This* [*Pro eto*] as an example of Soviet photomontage. Rodchenko's illustrations were the first important application of the medium in Soviet publishing.

If Gustavs Klucis was the first artist to introduce photographic elements into painting in *The Assault: The Attack against the Counter-revolution* dated to 1918,²² the real beginning of photomontage as a popular medium in the Soviet Union was Rodchenko's designs for Mayakovsky's *About This* published in 1923.

Rodchenko started to produce his first montage compositions in 1922 during his collaboration with the magazine *Kino-fot* [*Cinema-photo/graphy*].²³ The magazine primarily addressed film makers, but was accessible to a wider audience of film enthusiasts (it was on sale at cinemas). *Kino-fot* focused on the professional issues of cinema production and became a tribune for experimental film directors like Lev Kuleshov and Dziga Vertov, who advocated the theory of cinematic montage. Aleksei Gan was the editor and Rodchenko an active participant, heralding the Constructivists' fascination with cinema as a modernist

²¹ 'Fotomotazhi L. Popovoi i P. Tsitroen', *LEF*, No. 4, 1923, p. 41.

²² Lidia Oginskaya, *Gustav Klutss* (Moscow: Sovetsky khudozhnik, 1981), pp. 4–5.

²³ See Christina Lodder, 'Promoting Constructivism: *Kino-fot* and Rodchenko's Move Into Photography', in *Constructive Strands in Russian Art 1914-1937* (London: Pindar Press, 2005), pp. 368-391

medium. Avant-garde film directors and Constructivists became allies fighting for the victory of the montage principle over static 'psychological' film dramas. Rodchenko was strongly influenced by film theory, which was reflected in his early photomontage compositions.

According to Christina Lodder, 'It is, of course, Rodchenko's use of the technique of photomontage that seems to offer the closest affinity to the cinematic methods advocated in *Kino-fot*.'²⁴ The influence of cinematic montage theory was combined with the influence of Western art. In the first issue of *Kino-fot* Rodchenko published two collages, which involved graphic and photographic images cut out from illustrated magazines and newspapers, but which focused predominantly on the fragments of text. The combination of the two, according to the artist's expressed intentions, generated new critical meanings. (The absurdist imagery and peculiar montaged text made such notions rather diluted). In the article, explaining the collages, the anonymous author wrote that, 'Collage elements [*nakleiki*] in Picasso's works before the war and the use of non-painterly typographic printed material by the Dadaists after the war underline dramatically the gap that divides "leftist" artists living in an atmosphere of "prosperity" in Western Europe from the leftist masters of the proletarian republic.'²⁵ Despite this announcement, Rodchenko's compositions are actually not very different from Dadaist experiments. Rodchenko's first montages using predominantly photographic elements appeared in *Kino-fot* No. 3 as illustrations

²⁴ Lodder, 'Promoting Constructivism: *Kino-fot* and Rodchenko's Move into Photography', p. 381.

²⁵ 'Pечатnyi material dlya kritiki smontirovannyi konstruktivistom Rodchenko', *Kino-fot*, No. 1, 1922, p. 13.

to an extract of Lev Kuleshov's book dedicated to montage in the cinema. The compositions were called *Psychology* and *Detective* (Figures 1-2). Both were inspired by contemporary cinema and addressed such popular film genres as melodrama and detective story. The montage *Psychology*, constructed according to hierarchical and symmetrical principles, was made of images of film stars like Pola Negri and Ivan Mozzhukhin, in a state of extravagant romantic exaltation, characteristic of silent melodramas at the beginning of the 20th century. Under the symmetrically situated images of the film stars, the artist placed an image of a luxurious bathroom taken from an advert in an illustrated magazine. The absurdist montaged text was a mixture of words and broken phrases, such as 'she prevailed' or 'the holy lie', which sound like the intertitles used in silent films and titles of commercial films such as *The Virgin's Mountains* [*Dev'i gory*] produced in 1919 at the Rus' factory by Aleksandr Sanin and described by the distributors as 'a mystical drama'.²⁶ All these fragments of cinematic kitsch were combined with cut outs from advertisements of lipstick and creams. The montage *Psychology* was obviously a highly ironic composition. Its symmetrical and static construction refers to the absence of dynamic montage in commercial melodramatic films of the period. The very title of the composition alludes to the negative term 'psychological film' coined by the authors in *Kino-fot* to define mass cinematic production, filmed from one viewpoint by a motionless camera. Aleksei Gan wrote a short declaration called 'We are fighting',

²⁶ Ironically the advertisement of the film *The Virgin's Mountains* was published in the same issue of the magazine as the Rodchenko photomontages. The advertisement was placed on page 10, the Rodchenko's montage – on page 11.

We are fighting against the psychological film. We are fighting against the making of films based on Mozzhukhin, Runich, Lisenko, etc. We are against it, because such people are transferring to the cinema screen, the drama and perversions of the hysterical philistines of 1914. We are against the protests of “film specialists” who reject montage, the main organizing element of cinematography. Because of this we salute and adore Charlie Chaplin, detective stories and The State Institute of Cinematography.²⁷

The film *The Virgin's Mountains*, the title of which featured in Rodchenko's composition, embodied all those negative qualities of the silent cinema to which avant-garde film directors and the Constructivists were opposed. The screen play, written by the émigré writer Evgenii Chirikov, was based on his collection of stories, *Volga Fairy Tales* [*Volzhskie skazki*].²⁸ Chirikov's screen play used a legend about the Antichrist coming to the Volga region.²⁹ Actors from MKhAT [Moscow Artistic Theatre], performers from the Maly Theatre and dancers from the Bolshoi Theatre played in the movie.³⁰ Traditional camera work and the overtly religious connotations of the film inevitably provoked a negative reaction from such active supporters of the new experimental cinema as Aleksandr Rodchenko and Aleksei Gan.

²⁷ Aleksei Gan, 'My vouem', *Kino-fot*, No. 3, 1922, p. 8. Ivan Mozzhukhin, Osip Runich and Natal'ya Lisenko mentioned by Gan were popular actors of the Russian silent cinema.

²⁸ Evgeny Chirikov, *Dev'i Gory*, in *Sobranie sochineny* (Moscow: Moskovskoe knigoizdatel'stvo, 1916), vol. XVI.

²⁹ The film was prohibited on the basis of the order of the 8th Department of Narkompros (the Peoples Commissariat of Enlightenment). It seems that the coming of the Antichrist was understood by the Bolshevik censorship as an allusion to the establishment of the Soviet power. See Mariya Mikhailova, 'Ludi i zveri Evgeniya Chirikova', *Slovo. Filologiya* <<http://www.portal-slovo.ru/philology/39028.php>> [accessed 16 January 2012].

³⁰ 'Poslednie postanovki "Rusi"', *vypuskaemye v blizhaishее vremya*, *Kino-fot*, No. 4.p.

Although avant-garde film directors and the Constructivists rejected the static mysticism and emotionalism of the conventional Russian silent film, they enthusiastically embraced the dynamic tricks of foreign detective movies and westerns. In the chapter of a book about cinematic montage, titled *Americanism* [*Amerkanshchina*], which was published in *Kino-fot* No. 1, Lev Kuleshov praised American detective films. He wrote, ‘In detective literature and even more so in American detective screen plays, the main element of the plot represents a build-up of action and dynamism of construction; for the cinematograph, there is no more harmful manifestation of literariness than psychology [*psikhologichnost*], i. e. visible inaction in a plot.’³¹

This fascination with mass culture and particularly with the detective genre is not only encountered among Russian avant-garde film directors and Constructivists, but also within modernist culture generally at the beginning of the twentieth century. For instance, the adventures of Fantômas (‘a modern Aeneid’), were extremely popular with figures like Guillaume Apollinaire, Blaise Cendrars, Jean Cocteau and the Surrealists.³² In pre and post-revolutionary Russia, fascination with detective stories was called ‘pinkertonism’ [*pinkertonovshchina*]³³ – after the

³¹ Lev Kuleshov, ‘Amerkanshchina’, *Kino-fot*, No 1, 1922, p. 14.

³² The novel about Fantômas was written by Marcel Allain (1885–1969) and Pierre Souvestre (1874–1914). The comparison of Fantômas with the epic poem of Virgil belonged to Blaise Cendrars. See Lee Server, *Encyclopedia of Pulp Fiction Writers* (New York: Checkmark Books, 2002), p. 4.

³³ Pavel Kaletsky, “‘Pinkertonovshchina’”, in *Literaturnaia entsiklopediya. V 11 tomakh* (Moscow: OGIZ-RSFSR, Gosudarstvennoe slovarnoe-etsiklopedicheskoe izdatel'stvo ‘Sovetskaia entsiklopediya, 1934), XVIII, pp. 645–649.

name of detective Nat Pinkerton, the hero of Western fiction, films and comic strips produced by different authors in the USA, France and Germany.³⁴

Although literary critics like Kornei Chukovsky regarded the cult of the fearless detective as a manifestation of the ‘Hottentot’ essence of contemporary culture, for Rodchenko’s generation, anti-psychological and dynamic crime stories were a welcome counterbalance to the hyper-intellectual decadent culture of the *fin-de-siècle*.³⁵

In contrast to *Psychology*, which illustrated all the negative aspects of cinema production, the photomontage *Detective* stressed the positive qualities of Western crime movies – criminals with hand guns, flying zeppelins, aeroplanes, speeding motorcars, and diagonally placed text elements all gave the composition dynamism, which was totally different from the symmetrical stasis of *Psychology*. Like that montage, *Detective* included the name of a film - *Grey Ghost* (distributed in Russia as *Grey Shadow* [*Seraya ten*]).³⁶ This very title possessed as many positive connotations for the authors of *Kino-fot*, as the title *The Virgin’s Mountains* had negative overtones. Lev Kuleshov wrote about film distribution during NEP, ‘there are more than enough bad films on the contemporary market, and only two good films were shown recently: the first of

³⁴ The character of Nat Pinkerton was loosely based on the Allan Pinkerton (1819-1894), the founder of the Pinkerton Detective Agency.

³⁵ Kornei Chukovsky, *Nat Pinkerton i sovremennaya literatura* (Moscow: “Sovremennoe tovarishchestvo,” 1908).

³⁶ The film (known also as the Grey Ghost) in 16 episodes was filmed in 1917 by the Universal Film Manufacturing Company. It was directed by Stuart Paton. See ‘The Gray Ghost (1917)’, *Progressive Silent Film List* <<http://www.silentera.com/PSFL/data/G/GrayGhost1917.html>> [accessed 17 January 2012].

them is “The Grey Shadow””.³⁷ The film director expressed his admiration for the actor Eduard Polo, mentioning the ‘unforgettable Pedro from *Bloody Whirlwind* and Eddie Polo from the *Grey Shadow*’.³⁸ Kuleshov believed in the superiority of American cinema, and stated that the *Gray Shadow* was incomparably better than the German detective movies which unskillfully mimicked the Americans.

It is not surprising that Rodchenko, who was in close contact with Kuleshov, used the names of two films, which represented two diametrically opposed cinematic methods, in his montages accompanying Kuleshov’s text. Psychological drama and stasis had to be rejected; dynamism and contrast had to be embraced. This principle was true not only for cinematic montage but also for photomontage.

Rodchenko’s composition and Kuleshov’s praise of Western crime movies were prophetic. In October 1922, Nikolai Bukharin’s speech, ‘The Communist education for youth under the conditions of NEP’ [*Komunisticheskoe vospitanie molodezhi v usloviyakh NEPa*] emphasised the need for a ‘Red Pinkerton’.³⁹ The appeal of the Party’s theoretician did not remain unheard. By 1924, the first Soviet books about the adventures of fearless detectives were available to the public.⁴⁰ Often this fiction was released under the Western- sounding *noms de*

³⁷ Lev Kuleshov, ‘Dom nenavisti’, *Kino-fot*, No. 6, 1922, p. 5.

³⁸ Kuleshov, ‘Dom nenavisti’, p. 6.

³⁹ Nikolai Bukharin, ‘Doklad na V Vserossiiskom s’ezde RKSM “Kommunisticheskoe vospitanie v usloviyakh NEP’a”’, *Pravda*, 1922, 14 October edition.

⁴⁰ Robert Russell, ‘Red Pinkertonism: An Aspect of Soviet Literature of the 1920s’, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 60, No. 3 (1982).

plume.⁴¹ Rodchenko designed covers for the serial novels of Marietta Shaginyan *Mess Mend or A Yankee in Petrograd* [*Mess Mend ili Yanki v Petrograde*], (Figure 3).⁴² The images in his compositions recall the montage *Detective* produced for *Kino-fot*, but their structure was different – the dynamic chaos of *Detective* was replaced by a more balanced compositional construction framed by geometric diamond-like shapes. These designs reflect a different stage in the development of Soviet photomontage. At the beginning, during the publication of *Kino-fot*, hierarchical symmetry gave way to dynamism and unexpected juxtaposition. If the novels about Red Pinkerton were defined as 'cinema translated into literature', Rodchenko's early photomontages could be described as cinema translated into photomontage.⁴³ The cinematic origins of the medium were obvious.

The attempt to apply the principles of so called 'filming by American shots'⁴⁴ to photographic material, however, had quite strange results. Describing the montage *Psychology*, Christina Lodder wrote, 'the composition is not unlike a particular type of *lubok*, or popular print used in the early ears of the twentieth century'.⁴⁵ This strange feeling of *lubochnost'* [lubok-ness] could be explained not only by the hierarchical construction of the composition of *Psychology*, but

⁴¹ See Maria Malikova, 'Khalturoveden'e: Sovetsky psevdoperevodnoi roman perioda NEPa', *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie*, No. 103, 2010.

⁴² Marietta Sahaginyan, *Mess Mend ili yanki v Petrograde*, 10 vols, (Moscow, Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1924).

⁴³ Russell, 'Red Pinkertonism: An Aspect of Soviet Literature of the 1920s', p. 393.

⁴⁴ The term *filming by American shots* (*s'emka amerikanskimi planami*) was used by Kuleshov. See Kuleshov, 'Amerkanshchina', p. 15.

⁴⁵ Lodder, 'Promoting Constructivism', p. 386.

also by certain qualities that the modernist medium of photomontage shared with the archaic *lubok*. According to Christina Lodder, in the traditional Russian folk picture ‘there is little attempt to situate the figure or figures within a coherent spatial environment. No use is made of single point perspective, and the images are arranged in planes, which are so compressed that there is no real sense of depth.’⁴⁶ The same description could be applied to early photomontage. Lodder argued that, ‘by the early twentieth century Russian commercial art was dominated by naturalistic modes of representation, although at times the organisation of that naturalistic material was based in traditions derived from the *lubki*, resulting in what I have to call a visual hybrid.’⁴⁷ The photomontages that Rodchenko produced in 1922 became a new form of visual hybrid – the hyper-naturalistic imagery of photographic elements was organised in an archaic manner and because of this betrayed a certain feeling of *lubochnost*. The appearance of the first photomontages heralded a great change in the very essence of Russian Constructivism – the period of non-figurative experiments was followed by the rehabilitation of the image and the re-introduction of naturalistic modes of representation, destined to dominate the Constructivists’ output until the end of the 1930s.

Ironically, in the second half of the 1920s, traditional realist artists tried to oppose the dominance of photomontage in the visual propaganda of the Soviet Union by producing the so-called *Soviet lubok*, which in the majority of cases was no more

⁴⁶ Christina Lodder, ‘Prints for the People: The Popular Printed Image in Russia before the Revolution’, in *Constructive Strands in Russian Art 1914-1937* (London: Pindar Press, 2005), p. 4.

⁴⁷ Lodder, ‘Prints for the People’, p. 26.

than a colour reproduction of a traditional easel painting, executed according to the principles of late-19th-century academic art.⁴⁸ This kind of lubok was less related to traditional folk pictures or lubok than the products of Constructivist photomontage.

Rodchenko's compositions were undoubtedly inspired not only by the theory of film montage, but also by Dadaist collages or montages. According to Aleksandr Lavrentiev, 'Rodchenko later recalled that Mayakovsky's idea of illustrating the book in such a novel way – using photomontages – did not arise by chance. [...] In October of 1922, Mayakovsky had travelled to Berlin for the opening of an exhibition of works of graphic artists [*Die erste russische Kunstausstellung*] from Soviet Russia, from where he had proceeded to Paris, returning to Moscow only in December. He could not help but notice the growing numbers of publications that were abandoning drawing in favour of photographs and photomontages.'⁴⁹ Judging by the text accompanying Rodchenko's collages in the first issue of *Kino-fot*, Rodchenko was clearly aware of Western photomontage experiments.

In his illustrations for Mayakovsky's poem, Rodchenko exploited Dada's absurdity and chaotic fragmentation of images, but he used these techniques for different ends and managed to transform this approach into a narrative device. Rodchenko created narrative compositions, many of which became visualizations of Mayakovsky's metaphors.⁵⁰ Images of people, objects, animals, American

⁴⁸ Faina Roginskaya, *Sovetsky lubok* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo AKhR, 1929).

⁴⁹ Aleksandr Lvrent'ev, 'About This Book', in *IT* (Berlin: Ars Nicolai, 1994), p. 72.

⁵⁰ Mary Chan, 'Rodchenko: The Death of Painting', *MoMA*, 1, No. 3 (1998).

skyscrapers, and Russian churches were piled up and created a feeling of absurdity because the real scale of objects was ignored and the photographic elements were removed from the illusionistic system of linear perspective integral to photography.

According to Lavrentiev, ‘All the telephones, chairs, bridges, buildings, human beings and animals are divorced from their accustomed context, their surrounding reality, so that they “hover” in a world with laws of its own, taking on a metaphorical dimension and conveying a message.’⁵¹ Rodchenko’s illustrations also employ numerous archaic devices, derived from medieval art. For example, a gigantic Mayakovsky was combined with very small human figures: the oversized poet was placed on the dome of the Ivan the Great bell tower in the Kremlin, or on a bridge, the arches of which hardly reach his knees (Figures 4– 5).⁵²

Rodchenko also employed another archaism: he used multiple images of Mayakovsky and Lilya Brik within a single composition (Figure 6). Yury Lotman explained this technique:

⁵¹ Lavrent’ev, ‘About This Book’, p. 74.

⁵² In this way, Rodchenko established the iconography of ‘giant versus dwarves’. Later, this became part of the Constructivist tradition where it was developed into an iconographic type, which could be defined as ‘the leader versus the masses’, often featuring a gigantic Lenin and/or Stalin against a background of faceless figures, representing the revolutionary crowds. Oleg Kusakov named another possible historical source for using scale to reflect the social hierarchy of the portrayed. Kusakov noted that in pre-revolutionary ‘photomontages’, ‘Portraits of superiors of an institution are given in large scale and occupy symmetrically the central parts of the composition. Often the scale of the portraits have several gradations, and what’s more their size and positioning in the composition are dependant on rank. Portraits of the lower service personal are given in a small format and form a certain distance are merging in one mass becoming the background for the portraits of the superiors.’ See Oleg Kusakov, ‘Sotsial’noe znachenie Fotomontazha’, *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 5, 1930, p. 130.

Syntagmatic construction is the unification of two elements into a chain; thus for its realization it is necessary to have a minimum of two elements and a mechanism for their connection. When we look at the fifteenth-century Pskov icon, *The beheading of John the Baptist*, where the saint is depicted at the moment of being beheaded in the centre and his cut-off head is lying in the lower-right-hand corner of the icon, or at Sandro Botticelli's illustrations to Dante's *Divina Comedia*, where the figures of the poet and his guide Virgil are repeated several times along the axis of their movement within the framework of the same drawing, it is obvious that in front of us there are two consecutive moments united into a single composition. But to make the combination of these two elements possible, they have to exist as separate entities. Because of this, the issue of segmenting the text, dividing it into pieces, is one of the most essential in constructing the narrative (Figures 7 - 8).⁵³

Rodchenko was the first photomontage artist to employ syntagmatic construction, and also false-syntagmatic composition, in which the repetition of the same figure has no narrative meaning. After Lenin died in 1924, a year after *About This*, the device was used in mass-produced photomontages by various artists, celebrating the dead leader. In these works, the multiplication of Lenin's image either played a narrative role or was used simply as decoration.

⁵³ Iury Lotman, 'Semiotika kino i problemy kinoestetiki', in *Ob iskusstve* (St. Petersburg: Iskusstvo-SPb, 1998), p. 342.

Yet very few of Rodchenko's illustrations for *About This* actually constructed a linear narrative. Instead, they frequently visualized metaphor in imitation of another medieval tradition, which Peter Breughel the Elder had exploited in his famous *Flemish Proverbs* (Figure 9).⁵⁴ Verbatim illustration of idiomatic expressions was typical of seventeenth-century Western art as seen in Domenico Feti's painting *The Parable of the Mote and the Beam*, (1619), (Figure 10). It was also characteristic of Russian Orthodox depictions of biblical parables such as 'Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye'⁵⁵ which became extremely popular in Russia. In fact, it was not that different from Feti's visual interpretation, and usually consisted of two conversing men, from one of whose eyes, a large beam protrudes.⁵⁶

One of Rodchenko montage-illustrations to *About This* was divided into two parts. In the upper part, the artist depicted a gigantic figure of Mayakovsky standing on a bridge. In the lower part, the poet is sitting on an ice-floe, burying his head in his hands. Next to him are two polar bears, and a little motor boat. To the left is the arch of an iron bridge. At first sight, this combination of images, at different scales and sizes, looks like a typical manifestation of Dadaist absurdity. Initially, the images appear to be accidental, but actually they represent different metaphors used by the poet.

⁵⁴ See Mark Meadow, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder's: "Netherlandish Proverbs" and the Practice of Rhetoric* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2002).

⁵⁵ Matthew 7:5.

⁵⁶ See Vera Brusova, *Fedor Zubov* (Moscow: Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, 1985).

The figures of the bears visualize the poem's lines:

The river is pitted.

I am in the middle.

As a polar bear

I climbed an ice-floe,

And swim on my pillow – a block of ice.⁵⁷

Only one bear is mentioned in the text of the poem. Rodchenko doubled the beasts for purely visual effect, reinforcing the metaphor in his translation from words into images.

The image of Mayakovsky, sitting helplessly with his hands covering his ears, also visualizes another metaphor from verse 350 of the poem,

It is flowing.

The gigantic streams of red copper.

Growl and blood.

Lap it, darkness!

I don't know,

Do bears cry,

Or not,

But if they cry,

They do it just this very way.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Vladimir Mayakovsky, 'Pro eto', in *Polnoe sobranie sochineny v 13-ti tomakh* (Moscow: AN SSSR, Institut Mirovoi literatury im. Gor'kogo, GIKhL, 1957), IV, p. 149 Author's translation.

⁵⁸ Mayakovsky, 'Pro eto', IV, p. 147.

The giant poet standing on the bridge was also described in the poem – it is Mayakovsky ready to commit suicide. The dialogue between the poet's two egos is illustrated by the syntagmatic construction, representing two events happening at different times to the same protagonist within one composition,

- Vladimir!

Stop!

Don't leave!

Why you did not permit me then

To jump!

To break my heart of piers?

For seven years I am standing.

I am looking at these waters

Tied to the hand rails by the robes of verses.

Seven years these waters don't take their eyes of me.

When,

When is the date of deliverance?⁵⁹

The bridges (and bridge-like forms) are included to reflect Mayakovsky's lines. One ego of the poet is standing on the bridge; the other is floating under it on the block of ice.

⁵⁹ Mayakovsky, 'Pro eto', IV, p. 151.

In almost every visualization of Mayakovsky's metaphors, Rodchenko added elements that were not present in the original text, such as a small speed-boat in the 'bears' montage', which adds a dynamic and modern element, and indicates that the ice-floe on which the crying poet is sitting is actually moving.

Rodchenko's montage in which the poet is talking on the telephone to the maid in the Briks' flat is different to the other illustrations (Figure 11). Its clear geometrical structure distinguishes it from some of the more chaotic compositions, which are reminiscent of Dada montages. In the upper right-hand corner, Rodchenko placed a photograph of Mayakovsky, in the lower left corner is the image of the maid answering the poet's phone call. They are united by a thin, diagonal, comprising a photograph of an American cityscape. The inclusion of an American cityscape epitomising modernity in a poem about love in Moscow serves to evoke a contemporary urban ambiance, and acts in a similar way to the combination of the Chicago skyscrapers and the tallest bell-tower in the Kremlin, in another illustration. The images of American cityscapes reflect the fashion for *Amerikanshchina* established by the authors of *Kino-fot*, for whom Americanism became a synonym for 'modernity'.

The panorama of the modern city is crossed by a phone wire (which creates a zigzag shape) connecting Mayakovsky's telephone with that in Lilya Brik's flat. Superimposed over the cityscape are the numbers 67-10, which was the Briks' telephone number. Reinforcing the absurdity of the composition, Rodchenko

placed the image of a dinosaur near the figure of Mayakovsky. The montage illustrates verse 310:

The monster of scratching jealousy
from the old time of troglodytes
was creeping out of the telephone cable.⁶⁰

According to Lavrentiev, ‘The dinosaur here literally illustrates the “monster” of jealousy emerging from the wire, which Mayakovsky recalls in his poem.’⁶¹ The ‘monster’ is not described in detail in the poem. It is just a metaphor for jealousy, which Rodchenko has transformed into an image of a dinosaur.

The diagonal organization of the montage manifests Rodchenko’s return to the geometrical compositional structures that he had used in his paintings of around 1920, such as *Composition No 128 (Line)*, and in his early collages, reproduced in *Kino-fot* (Figures 12-13).⁶²

American Art historian Christina Kiaer has stated:

The photomontages enact Mayakovsky’s acknowledgement of the
“troglodytic” and “bearified” aspects of himself that rear up from the past

⁶⁰ Mayakovsky, ‘Pro eto’, IV, p. 146.

⁶¹ Lvrent’ev, ‘About This Book’, p. 75.

⁶² Kristina Kaeir believes that the diagonal construction of the Rodchenko montage was inspired by the works of Karl Ioganson, ‘The “About This” troglodyte montage, with its central, diagonal, elongated, and rectangular image of a city braced by taut telephone wires, is constructed like one of Ioganson’s “cold structures,” in which tensile wires hold together pieces of wood into rigid structure based on the engineering principle of “tenesegritty.”’ Christina Kiaer, *Imagine No Possessions: The Socialist Objects of Russian Constructivism* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005), p. 157. This comparison isn’t convincing. Rodchenko and other artists used diagonally oriented compositions long before Ioganson created his “cold structures”. The cables in the Rodhenko montage are there to illustrate the text.

as cannot be shed on the command of the revolution; the organizational element that secures the pictorial meaning of these juxtapositions of Mayakovsky's selves is Constructivist engineerism. The "About This" photomontages therefore function as an unexpected counterpart to the abstract, engineering-oriented works of early Constructivism, suggesting that "organization," like other key Constructivist terms such as transparency and expediency, was not necessarily predicated on a rejection of figurative images or of the personal desire represented by them. In these photomontages, and in the commercial graphics to follow, images of these desires were retained but reorganized in order to imagine the socialist future. They would be the means for the dialectical transformation of the present transitional moment of NEP.⁶³

Kiaer's belief that metaphors and hyperbolic figures of poetic speech could be interpreted as any 'acknowledgement' of aspects of the poet's personality are staggeringly naïve. If 'the organizational element that secures the pictorial meaning of these juxtapositions of Mayakovsky's selves' is "Constructivist engineerism", how is one to interpret the montages, which juxtapose the 'images of desires' – the tempting beauty of Lilya Brik - by multiplying her photograph within the format of a single composition? The socialist future is hardly visible in Mayakovsky's over-emotional lyrics, and criticism of NEP is also not the main topic of *About This*. The poem went against *LEF*'s principles, as set out in the journal's first issue. Nikolai Chuzhak, a committed revolutionary and theoretician

⁶³ Kiaer, *Imagine No Possessions*, p. 158.

of communist art, resigned from *LEF*'s editorial board over the publication of *About This*, which 'he considered inconsistent with *LEF*'s concept of agitational art'.⁶⁴ Similarly, Klucis accused Rodchenko of having 'slipped into the direction of the advertisement-formalist poster.'⁶⁵ Rodchenko's illustrations were as little concerned with the 'socialist future' as Mayakovsky's poem. There is no trace in Rodchenko's montages of 'abstract engineering.' They are extremely concrete and often literal illustrations of the poem's text. The publication of the book with Rodchenko's photomontages heralded the return of the rejected image. The artist, who considered that he had killed painting, introduced the Trojan horse of figurative imagery into the avant-garde citadel.

Constructivist manifestos and laboratory discussions never mentioned the figurative image as such, but the publication of Rodchenko's montages became a *de facto* manifestation of change in the wake of the crisis of non-figurative art. According to Klucis, 'In the USSR photomontage appeared within the "left" front of art when nonfigurative art was exhausted. Agitational art needed realistic imagery created by the most developed technique and possessing graphic clarity and sharpness of expressivity.'⁶⁶ In a sense, Rodchenko's photomontages for Mayakovsky's poem signalled the end of the period of laboratory Constructivism, which was destined to be the final stage in the development of non-figurative art, and indeed art itself.

⁶⁴ Halina Stephan, "*Lef*" and the Left Front of the Arts (München: Sagner, 1981), p. 49.

⁶⁵ Klutsis, 'Fotomontazh, kak novyi vid agitatsionnogo iskusstva', p. 126.

⁶⁶ Klutsis, 'Fotomontazh, kak novyi vid agitatsionnogo iskusstva', pp. 119–120.

In this first “Dada-like” variant, photomontage did not appear to be suitable or appropriate for propaganda purposes.

In 1924, the situation changed. Lenin’s death influenced the development of Soviet art in general and photomontage in particular. The rapid emergence of a cult of Lenin and the immediate establishment of Leninism as a political ideology promoted a return to the image, which was essential for promoting the new cult.⁶⁷

In 1924, Gustavs Klucis and Sergei Senkin produced impressive quantities of photomontages dedicated to the deceased leader. The medium played an important role in memorial propaganda since traditional visual art couldn’t compete with the speed of producing photomontage compositions. In 1924, the new medium proved its efficiency and efficacy, and was embraced by the organs of Soviet propaganda. Margarita Tupitsyn correctly connected Lenin’s death with the birth of political photomontage.⁶⁸ Yet Lenin’s death also led to a general politicization of the visual arts in the Soviet Union and the re-vitalization of realism, which had already re-emerged as an important factor in cultural life following the founding of the Association of the Artists of Revolutionary Russia

⁶⁷ See Nina Tumarkin, *Lenin Lives!: The Lenin Cult in Soviet Russia* (Cambridge, Mass. – London: Harvard University Press, 1983).; and Konstantin Akinsha, ‘Malevich and Lenin: Image, Ritual and the Cube’, in *Rethinking Malevich: Proceedings of a Conference in Celebration of the 125th Anniversary of Kazimir Malevich’s Birth*, ed. by Charlotte Douglas and Christina Lodder (London: Pindar Press, 2007).

⁶⁸ Margarita Tupitsyn, ‘Lenin’s Death and the Birth of Political Photographmontage’, in *The Soviet Photograph, 1924-1937* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).; See AKhRR. *Sbornik vospominany, statei, dokumentov* (Moscow: Izobrazitel’noe iskusstvo, 1973).

[*Assotsiatsiya khudozhnikov revoliutsionnoy Rossii – AkhRR*] in 1922 by various traditionalist artists.⁶⁹

For Margarita Tupitsyn, the ‘funeral montages’ published in the mass magazine *Young Guard* [*Molodia gvardiya*], display certain similarities with the structure of Lenin’s speech as analysed by such important Russian formalist literary critics as Lev Yakubinsky⁷⁰ and Boris Eikhenbaum⁷¹:

In the photomontages for *Young Guard*, Klucis and Senkin applied structural principles that are strikingly similar to the devices formalists had observed in Lenin’s oratorical and written language. For example, in analysing one of Lenin’s essays, Eikenbaum noted that “syntactic parallelism penetrates this entire work, creating repetitions, not only in large areas of speech, but also in small ones, that is, in parts of phrases; this creates breaks and harmonies in rhythm and intonation. The article is divided by paragraphs between which one finds correlations that energized the speech.” Lev Yakubinsky also emphasized Lenin’s use of parentheses, which, according to him, broke up any “continuous syntactic construction” and helped “to deliver” the reader from “the main flow of speech.” Klutsis and Senkin used the similar methodology to structure their photomontages. Lenin’s figure appears on each page of the magazine in different compositional arrangements and in different scales. He is often reproduced several times on the same page, emphasizing the importance of

⁶⁹ Lodder, *Russian Constructivism*, pp. 184–186.

⁷⁰ Lev Yakubinsky, ‘O snizhenii vysokogo stilya u Lenina’, *LEF*, No. 1, 1924.

⁷¹ Boris Eikhenbaum, ‘Osnovnye stilevyie tendentsii v rechi Lenina’, *LEF*, No. 1, 1924.

the repetition in montage. On some pages Lenin is positioned in the centre surrounded by photograph fragments. These “parenthesis” add to the main image, while in the same time destroying a continuous composition and, in Yakubinsky’s terms, diverting the viewer from the main flow of representation.⁷²

This type of linguistic approach to the ‘visual text’ of the ‘funeral’ photomontages is far too simplistic. It is highly unlikely that Klucis and Senkin had a chance to study the formalists’ articles about Lenin’s speech, which appeared in *LEF* practically simultaneously with publication of *The Young Guard*. Any similarity between the photomontages and Lenin’s speech, resided primarily in the device of constant repetition, which the formalists detected in Lenin’s writings. Despite an attempt to lionize the deceased leader, Eichenbaum and Yakubinsky applied formal linguistic analysis which demonstrated that Lenin’s language represented a classical example of the simplified language of propaganda, for which repetition is essential.

In fact, all the qualities of Klucis and Senkin’s compositions that Tupitsyn argued resemble the structure of Lenin’s writings, such as repeating the figure of the main protagonist at different scales, multiplying the images of a single character within a composition, and surrounding a large image with ‘photographic fragments’, are all to be found in Rodchenko’s illustrations for Mayakovsky’s poem. There is one more important element borrowed from Rodchenko, which Tupitsyn did not

⁷² Tupitsyn, ‘Lenin’s Death and the Birth of Political Photographmontage’, pp. 18–19.

mention, and that is using de-contextualized close-ups of a face; Lilya Brik was transformed into Lenin (Figures 14 – 15). Despite numerous attempts to distance himself from Rodchenko, whose works, Klucis considered, ‘did not influence the development of political photomontage,’⁷³ the impact of Rodchenko’s *Pro eto* illustrations on the ‘funeral’ montages is obvious. Rodchenko even contributed a montage depicting Lenin as a tribune, constructed as a syntagmatic composition, based on the repetition of the image (Figure 16).⁷⁴ The montage, which was included in the mourning issue of the magazine, consists of images of Lenin speaking, which decrease in size from the bottom to the top of the composition. The artist designed another work, which was clearly conceived as a pair to the published montage. In the similarly constructed composition, Rodchenko used images of Lenin lying in state (Figure 17).

Despite this influence, Klucis and Senkin drastically revised the montage principles that Rodchenko developed in *Pro eto*. Instead of illustrations reflecting specific texts or words, Klucis and Senkin created mini-posters with generalized messages. Klucis defined his montages for *The Young Guard*, as a ‘photograph-slogan-montage’, stressing their agitational essence.⁷⁵

Another innovation was Klucis and Senkin’s addition of aggressive planes of colour – black and red. (Rodchenko used a similar colour scheme in his montages

⁷³ Klutsis, ‘Fotomontazh, kak novyi vid agitatsionnogo iskusstva’, p. 126.

⁷⁴ Ten montages were designed by Klucis, 6 – by Sen’kin, 1 – by Rodchenko.

⁷⁵ Oginskaya, *Gustavs Klutsis*, p. 51.

for *The Young Guard*). These were the appropriate colours for Soviet mourning (red banners with black ribbons), but at the same time they also established a new colour scheme, which came to dominate Soviet photomontage posters until almost the end of the 1930s. The introduction of colour, often reduced to the basic geometric forms of triangles, squares and circles, recalled Suprematist experimentation with poster art manifested in the works of El Lissitzky (Figure 18). As early as 1919, Klucis had combined a photographic image with abstract forms. In works, such as *The Dynamic City* (1919) and *The Electrification of the Entire Country* (1920), he combined photographic elements with complicated spatial constructions, but in the funeral montages, coloured geometrical elements were reduced to forms (Figures 19-20).

Klucis and Senkin's attempts to make 'colour ... serve the tasks of the class struggle'⁷⁶ resulted in the grounds of photomontage compositions being transformed into flat coloured surfaces, which emphasised the removal of the photographic elements from the world of linear perspective. Klucis was also responsible for introducing a compositional scheme that tended to symmetry and geometric balance. Tupitsyn's assertion that the 'parenthesis' of the photographic elements surrounding the main image were 'destroying a continuous composition' does not reflect visual reality. Klucis and Senkin replaced Rodchenko's chaotically constructed montages with highly hierarchical, almost hieratic, static compositions, strongly reminiscent of medieval art in general and Russian icon

⁷⁶ Oginskaya, *Gustav Klutis*, p. 124.

painting in particular. For example, one dully symmetrical composition depicted a large close-up of Krupskaya's face, surrounded by smaller close-ups of the faces of the members of the Central Committee placed over the image of Lenin lying in state. This immediately recalls the iconography of the Deisis (Figures 21 - 22). In one montage a gigantic head of Lenin in childhood is combined with figures of little children placed in the bottom of composition and flanked by the full-size figures of the grown-up leader and his sister Maria. This resembles the iconography of Christ *Acheiropoietos* – the icon of Christ 'not made by the human hands,' the Byzantine/Russian version of the iconography of St. Veronica's shroud (Figures 23 – 24).⁷⁷ In the montage *Oppressed people all over the world under the banner of the Comintern overthrow imperialism!*, Lenin as an orator is given a gigantic loudspeaker (Figure 25). The slogan emerges from the red-coloured bell of the loudspeaker in five consecutive segments. This naïve visualisation of the proletarian leader's call to the oppressed people of the Orient recalls icons of the Annunciation, where the written words emerge from the mouth of the Archangel Gabriel (Figure 26).

Another innovation by Klucis was the introduction of symbolic elements, such as arrows placed either side of Lenin's image. In the montage *Lenin Stands on the Border Between Two Epochs in the Development of Mankind*, the black arrow pointed down and was decorated with the heads of Marshal Ferdinand Foch, French Prime Minister Raymond Poincaré, and Field Marshal Paul von

⁷⁷ Klucis often returned to this iconographic type, for example, in his montage illustrations for the book of Viktor Gornyi (pen-name of Viktor Savin, 1900-1975) *Petyash* the artist used a gigantic close up of Lenin's face, placed in the lower part of the composition little figures of the masses and protagonists of the story.

Hindenburg, who symbolized the forces of reaction and opposition, while the red arrow pointed upwards and was adorned with Lenin's portrait, signifying progress (Figure 27). Klucis also introduced the mandala or mandala-like construction.

One such model of the universe featured in the funeral montages (Figure 28).

Towards the centre of the composition, the artist placed a horizontally oriented, red, diamond-shaped plane. The ribs of the plane are equipped with arrows and symbols indicating South, West, North and East. In the centre of the composition is a 'Constructivist' podium decorated with the abbreviation of the Russian Communist Party, 'RKP'. On the podium, Lenin stands, speaking with arm extended. Around the podium, on the axis of every arrow, are four images of Lenin standing in different poses. On the sides of the sharp corners of the diamond are triangles – photographs of the masses. Next to the arrow pointing North is an image of a battleship, on the mast of which is a large figure of a sailor with signal flags. The East is symbolized by a close-up of the face of an Asian man wearing glasses. The South is denoted by the upturned pith helmet of a colonialist. The West is represented by crowds of demonstrators. The lower corner of the diamond partly covers the head of an African man. This is a strange and highly hierarchical model of the world, of which Lenin as the leader of the RKP is the centre, and his four miniature reincarnations symbolize the cardinal directions. Klucis's Soviet compass differs from a normal one – because the top doesn't point to North but to Lenin, the proletarian leader.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Klucis' cosmogony strangely reCalls the *Discworld* of Sir Terry Pratchett.

Klucis's universe tends to be reduced to basic geometrical forms and to be stabilized by symmetric balance, while Lenin, the demiurge, is destined to be the centre of all things. For Tupitsyn, Klucis and Senkin created 'a new chapter in the history of socio-political publications'.⁷⁹ It was indeed a new chapter, but it was not free of archaic elements (Figure 29). Tupitsyn believes that the artists 'claimed documentary photography as their primary representational tool.'⁸⁰ But such photography and de-contextualized photographic elements were subordinated to strict compositional models.

Klucis had used the mandala-like form in 1921-1922 for his photomontage *Sport*, which contained a huge central image of concentric circles, divided into four equal segments. The circle had a clearly marked centre (Figure 30). One of Klucis's illustrations for the book *Lenin and Children* [*Lenin i deti*] published in 1924, placed Lenin in the centre of concentric circles divided into six segments, the borders of which were marked with photographs of children (Figure 31).⁸¹ This constant return to archetypal forms underlay the compositional structure of Klucis' photomontages. Their geometrical constructions, based on circles, six-pointed asterisks, two crossed lines (recalling the St. Andrew's cross), or combinations of these, are derived from archaic iconographies (Figure 32). The central orientation of such compositions stressed their similarity to the mandala (Figure 33-34). Unfortunately, the issue of the basic iconographic structures common to both Eastern and Western art has not attracted much scholarly

⁷⁹ Tupitsyn, 'Lenin's Death and the Birth of Political Photographmontage', p. 23.

⁸⁰ Tupitsyn, 'Lenin's Death and the Birth of Political Photographmontage'.

⁸¹ Il'ia Lin, *Lenin i deti* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiya, 1924).

research. Carl Jung's theory of archetypes is subjective and foggy, although some of his observations can be applied to the Lenin mandalas created by Klucis.

According to Jung, 'The mandala is an archetypal image whose occurrence is attested throughout the ages. It signifies the wholeness of the Self. This circular image represents the wholeness of the psychic ground or, to put it in mythic terms, the divinity incarnate in man.'⁸² At the end of 1924 – 1925, Klucis and Senkin collaborated on illustrating Mayakovsky's poem *Vladimir Ilich Lenin*. It is not known whether Klucis had a contract with a publishing house or even undertook the task with the consent of the poet.⁸³ Five illustrations were produced, but not published, and were only shown to the public in 1927 at the *All Union Exhibition of Printing Arts* in Moscow.⁸⁴ Klucis' attempt to illustrate Mayakovsky's poem indicates a certain element of competitive rivalry with Rodchenko. Klucis's illustrations also demonstrate his rejection of Rodchenko's rather Dadaist approach to the montages for *About This*. Of the five illustrations that Klucis completed, three employ a circle placed in the centre of the composition and could be defined as mandala-type montages. One is structured around a symmetrical, three-dimensional construction of the 'asterisk' type, and one is composed of two right triangles, placed diagonally.

⁸² Carl Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, ed. by Aniela Jaffé, Rev. ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), pp. 334–335.

⁸³ Oginskaya, *Gustavs Klutisis*, pp. 71–83. See also Nina Shantyko, 'Klutisis – illustrator Mayakovskogo', *Khudozhnik*, No. 2, 1970, pp. 19–20.

⁸⁴ Oginskaya, *Gustavs Klutisis*, p. 83.

One of Klucis' montages-mandalas employs concentric circles (Figure 35). The outer circle is broken, and one of its parts emerges from the frame of the montage, creating the illusion of a spiral. In the centre of the concentric circles, the artist placed an image of Lenin's mausoleum. It is surrounded by a sphere divided into two equal fields – red and black. The space between the concentric circles is filled with images of crowds. The corners of the composition are coloured in red and black. In his illustrations, Klucis incorporated lines from Mayakovsky's poem into the body of the photomontages in the form of slogans. The mandala-montage is supplied with the text,

Deluge of tramp,
Power spreading
In rings is
Dissolving
In the thoughts of the world.⁸⁵

While Rodchenko transformed Mayakovsky's metaphors into images, Klucis tried to transform them into slogans. In this undertaking he was a pioneer. Fifteen years later, when Stalin announced that Mayakovsky was, 'the greatest poet of our Soviet epoch,'⁸⁶ and the country lavishly marked the tenth anniversary of his suicide, the poet's verses were mercilessly dissected into appropriate slogans, which were frequently used in Soviet propaganda until 1991.

⁸⁵ Vladimir Mayakovsky, 'Vladimir Il'ich Lenin', in *Polnoe sobranie sochineny v 13 tomakh* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1955), VI, p. 307.

⁸⁶ Innokenty Oksenov, 'Mayakovsky i Pushkin', in *Pushkin: Vremmenik Pushkinskoi komissii* (Moscow, Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1937), III, p. 283.

Naturally, some of the lines Klucis selected, like the verse about the ‘Deluge of tramp’ couldn’t become slogans – they were too complicated and too rooted in Mayakovsky’s poetic language. Even so, Klucis turned them into simulacra of slogans – writing them in the fonts and style of current propaganda. Klucis’s compositions are not merely posters inspired by Mayakovsky’s poem, they also illustrate specific lines from the poem. The concentric circles relate to the phrase ‘the dark motionless globe’; the mausoleum refers to the line, ‘The coffin is over the world motionless and deathly-still’; and the photographs of the crowds illustrate the words ‘Near the coffin are we, representatives of the people.’⁸⁷ The illustration to the final stanzas of the poem again employs a circle placed in the middle of the composition, with a symbolic graphic image of the globe, and the space between the globe and the outer circle filled with images of crowds (Figure 36). Above the circle is a photograph of Lenin, looking to the right. On both sides of his head are words and slogans. Beneath the circle is another image of Lenin, with slogans flanking his head, but this time he is looking left. In the corners of the composition are the figures of four revolutionary fighters – European, Mexican, African, and Asian. The text reads, ‘Proletarians, form ranks for the last battle.’⁸⁸ In the poem, these words are pronounced by Lenin, mystically returned to life on the red banners of the crowds marching through Red Square. The globe is not mentioned in the poem’s finale, but Klucis used the circle as an emblematic form, ‘the archetype of wholeness.’⁸⁹ For Tupitsyn, ‘The photomontages executed

⁸⁷ Mayakovsky, ‘Vladimir Il’ich Lenin’, VI, p. 306.

⁸⁸ Mayakovsky, ‘Vladimir Il’ich Lenin’, VI, p. 309.

⁸⁹ Carl Jung wrote, ‘The “squaring of the circle” is one of the many archetypal motifs which form the basic patterns of our dreams and fantasies. But it is distinguished by the fact that it is one of the most important of them from the functional point of view. Indeed, it could even be Called the

by Klucis and Senkin for *Young Guard*, *Herald of Labour*, and *Children and Lenin* extended Eisenstein's theory of "intellectual montage"⁹⁰. She cites Jacques Aumont's⁹¹ summary of montage, 'Aumont distinguishes, first, "to mix together genres and styles in patchwork fashion"; second, the idea of "'circularity,' or interlocking of narratives;" and, third, "the device of 'repetition.'"⁹² This compressed theory of intellectual montage does not really apply to the works of Klucis and Senkin. Photomontage was indeed heavily influenced by cinema. Klucis wrote that, 'Of all the arts photomontage could only be compared to cinema, which unites a mass of stills into an integral oeuvre.'⁹³ It is possible to compare photomontage with cinema, but it is not possible to apply to it the principles of montage as developed in film. In photomontage, the repetition of images, mimicking film with multiplied stills, is deprived of movement and instead of looking 'modern', produces an absurd effect or an archaic impression. Klucis and Senkin never tried to combine the elements of their compositions in a 'patchwork fashion' (this applies more aptly to Rodchenko), but tried to subordinate their photographic elements to a compositional structure. They did not use 'interlocking narratives', but tried to simplify the narrative of their montages, reducing them to a visual slogan, supported by a verbal one.

archetype of wholeness.' Carl Jung, 'Mandalas', in *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), IX, p. 388.

⁹⁰ Tupitsyn, 'Lenin's Death and the Birth of Political Photographmontage', p. 22.

⁹¹ See Jacques Aumont, *Montage Eisenstein* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1987).

⁹² Tupitsyn, 'Lenin's Death and the Birth of Political Photographmontage', p. 23.

⁹³ Klutskis, 'Fotomontazh, kak novyi vid agitatsionnogo iskusstva', p. 124.

If any there is any connection between the montages of Klucis and Senkin and Sergei Eisenstein's theories, it is to be found in the film director's unfinished tract, known as '*Grundproblem*', in which he explored an issue that had puzzled him for years – the problem of the return of archetypal imagery in twentieth-century art and the relationship between contemporary culture and primitive impulses.⁹⁴

The similarities between Klucis's photomontages and Russian icons, medieval paintings, and primordial archetypal structures can't be explained as a process of conscious adoption. His photomontage depicting Lenin's head in the centre of four diagonally placed palms, coloured in red and black with images of factories and objects of industrial production placed on them, is strikingly similar to the composition of a mosaic on the groin vault of the chapel of St. Zeno in the basilica of Santa Prassede in Rome, which depicts Christ supported by four angels (Figures 37 -38). This similarity is clearly accidental. Klucis, who was born in Latvia into a protestant family, was not even familiar with Russian Orthodox iconography. Nevertheless, his 'leap backwards' was timely in the circumstances of the rapid conversion of Russian Marxism into a pseudo-religious cult of the dead leader. The formation of an '*ersatz*' religion required the creation of '*ersatz*' icons; Klucis and Senkin were the first to fulfil the task. This fall into the abyss of the primordial was not merely a bi-product of the ideological U-turn that followed Lenin's death. What the Russian religious philosopher Nikolai Berdiaev called the

⁹⁴ See Sergei Eizenshtein, 'Zametki k "Grundproblem"', in *Metod. Tainy masterstva* (Moscow: Muzei kino, Eizenshtein-tsentr, 2002), II.

‘New Middle Ages’⁹⁵ was a period of rapid social and cultural archaicism of the society of the former Russian Empire, as has been recently analysed by the contemporary philosopher and sociologist Aleksandr Akhiezer.⁹⁶ The production of photomontage icons was one manifestation of this return to archaism.⁹⁷ The re-employment of archetypal imagery during the mid-1920s became the next logical step in the avant-garde’s flirtation with low or popular culture, and naïve and archaic art in the early twentieth century. French artists were fascinated by African tribal sculpture, and the Russian futurists’ enthused about Kurgan stelae - anthropomorphic stone images installed by nomadic tribes of Cumans in the steppes of Ukraine and South Russia. The next stage in the re-discovery of archetypal imagery signified the return to a primordial content. This return was not limited to photomontage or to the practice of avant-garde artists. Realist painters fascinated by folk culture also created iconographic types, which later continued their life not in traditional art, but in modernist media. For example, a typical archaic iconography embraced by Soviet photomontage – the juxtaposition of a gigantic figure and minuscule dwarves was actually coined not by

Rodchenko, but by the realist painter Boris Kustodiev, who in 1920 created the

⁹⁵ See Nikolai Berdiaev, *Novoe srednevekov’ye. Razmyshlenie o sud’be Rossii i Evropy* (Berlin: Obelisk, 1924).; See also Nikolai Berdiaev, *Communism and Christians* (London: The Paladin Press, 1938).

⁹⁶ Aleksandr Akhiezer, ‘Arkhaizatsiya v rossiiskom obschestve kak metodologicheskaya problema’, *Obshchetsvennye nauki*, No. 2, 2001.

⁹⁷ The problem of archaism in Soviet art has not been deeply researched. John Bowlt compared Stalinist culture and the culture of ancient Egypt, ‘...both pharaonic Egypt-with Memphis on the Nile Delta-and Soviet Russia -with Moscow on the Moscow-Volga Canal- were centralized, autocratic, pyramidal societies that depended on massive slave labor for their construction projects (slaves built the pyramids just as prisoners built the canals). Furthermore, as the pharaoh was perceived as a deity and credited with good harvests, Stalin was perceived as the sun and credited with the progress of Soviet agriculture and industry.’ See John E. Bowlt, ‘Stalin as Isis and Ra: Socialist Realism and the Art of Design’, *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, 24 (2002), p. 58. This argument is seductive, but not convincing. It is unlikely that Soviet artists selected one historic model for imitation. Similarities with a variety of archaic cultures are the result of a general archaicism of Soviet culture.

painting *The Bolshevik* depicting a bearded Goliath marching with a red banner, past a church building that hardly reached his knees, surrounded by crowds of pigmies (Figure 39). Photomontages by Klucis, Senkin, Rodchenko and other artists after Lenin's death had another highly important function. Montage artists, benefiting from the speed with which composite images could be produced by the medium, became the true creators of Soviet iconography. The numerous compositions depicting Lenin speaking from a podium, which Klucis created in 1924, were redeveloped by traditional socialist-realist artists only in the late 1920s and early 1930s, when Isaak Brodsky painted *Lenin's Speech at a Workers' Meeting at the Putilovsky Plant in May 1917* (1929) and Aleksandr Gerasimov painted *Lenin on the Podium* (1930), (Figures 40 – 43). Photomontage's pioneering role in this area was noticed by contemporaries. When in 1931 the State Academy of Art History [*Gosudarstvennaya akademiya iskusstvoznaniya*] organized the first exhibition of images of Lenin in Soviet art, Grigory Lelevich⁹⁸ wrote that the 'funeral' montages of Klucis and Senkin represented the beginning of the development of Lenin's iconography:

The slowness of graphics and especially painting in comparison to photomontage and printing can't be explained by fortuity. [...]

Poster and photomontage proved to be ahead, not only because these types of artistic weapons suit the working class, but because in the first place these genres of art are more flexible and can be reorganized more easily, and secondly because cadres of these types of artistic weapon, which

⁹⁸ Georgy Lelevich (Lavori Kalmanson, 1901-1945) Soviet poet and critic.

originated later and more tightly connected to everyday practice, are less infected with bourgeois artistic skills.⁹⁹

Numerous iconographic types were developed by the ‘artistic weapon’ of photomontage, such as ‘Lenin and children,’ ‘Lenin and proletarians of the Orient’, and ‘Lenin and the workers’. All these became stereotypes in the iconographic canon of Socialist Realism, used with the same frequency as the various iconographies of the saints are used in Russian icon painting. What Klucis created was subsequently employed by all the visual arts, from painting and sculpture to etching and poster design until the very end of the Soviet Union and could be described as the ritual production of images.

Art historians often refer to the ‘documentary photography’¹⁰⁰ used by Rodchenko, Klucis and Senkin in the early montage compositions. However, any attempt to deconstruct any such composition will reveal the stunning poverty of the repertoire of the photographic images employed. During the first stage of photomontage development, 1923-1924, montage artists did not use photographs that they had taken. The main source of their raw material was illustrated publications. Photographs published in Western magazines provided images of modernity – skyscrapers, aeroplanes, and cars. By 1924 – 1925, the same publications provided appropriate images of the enemy – the imperialist and colonialist West. The artists’ limited cultural references often led to the creation of impressive, but unintentionally absurd compositions. One example of this type

⁹⁹ Georgy Lelevich, ‘Lenin v izobrazitel’nom iskusstve’, *Sovetsky muzei*, No. 1, 1931, pp. 21–22.

¹⁰⁰ Tupitsyn, ‘Lenin’s Death and the Birth of Political Photographmontage’, p. 17.

of ‘Dadaism of ignorance’ is an illustration by Klucis for Mayakovsky’s poem *Vladimir Il’ich Lenin*, depicting a huge head of a black African positioned next to a small image of a camel (both the African and the camel feature in the poem). In the lower part of the composition is a diagonally placed image of a caravan, in the upper part is an image of an African village and the figure of a colonialist, who looks like a midget in comparison to the gigantic head placed in the centre of the montage (Figure 44). Apparently, Klucis couldn’t find a readymade image of a colonialist, so he created one by putting a large pith helmet on the head of a baseball player cut out of an American sporting magazine. The player, standing ready to bat, looks aggressive enough and appropriately armed to represent colonial oppression. The obvious absurdity of the image escaped both the artist and his audience. This kind of ‘reconstruction’ of a mythological West from fragments of photographic imagery prevailed in Soviet propaganda montages until the 1980s. The ‘orientalist’ elements of Klucis’ compositions proved to be no less confusing. A tribesman, armed with a spear in a montage calling proletarians of the world to the decisive battle, corresponded to the stereotypical image of an African which was firmly established in Soviet art of the 1920s.

Images of the Soviet Union were also not particularly varied. The beginning of political photomontage coincided with the establishment of the Lenin cult, so images of the deceased leader were in demand. Sadly, there were few photographs of Lenin available. The limited quantity of source material led to the constant recycling of the same images, so identical photographs appeared in the compositions of every montage artist, from Rodchenko, Klucis, Senkin and El

Lissitzky to anonymous artists working in provincial publishing houses (Figures 45-48). This visual avalanche of repetitive imagery was reinforced by the tendency during the early period (1924-1925) to multiply figures of Lenin within a single composition. A perfect example of this mania for repetitive imagery is Rodchenko's photomontage design for the cover of the book *To the Living Il'ich* [*K zhivomu Il'ichu*] published in 1924 (Figure 49). In this work, Rodchenko took Klucis's principle of symmetry to absurdity. The central feature is a globe with the symbol of the hammer and sickle. The globe is flanked by four figures of Lenin speaking with his arm extended; the two images on the right mirror the two on the left - so that the four Lenins are addressing each other. In this montage, the image of Lenin is reduced to a decorative, ornamental element. By the end of the 1920s, this passion for multiplying the images of political leaders had diminished. In 1930, the installation that Klucis designed using repeated examples of his posters was the exception rather than the rule (Figure 50).

The multiplication of identical images was also used in montages depicting the masses. Varvara Stepanova created a whole row of infantrymen, ready to bayonet the enemy by simply repeating the photograph of a Red Army soldier, which had been taken by Boris Ignatovich (Figure 51). Images were also repeated in so-called 'visual statistics', i.e. illustrated graphs and diagrams, where the same image was often shown in progressively larger sizes to illustrate growth. For instance, Rodchenko demonstrated the expansion of the Russian working class, by using six identical images of workers increasing in size alongside the relevant

statistical data in the *History of the All-Union Communist Party of the Bolsheviks in posters* [*Istoria VKP (b) v plakatakh*], (1926).

By 1926, when Shklovsky published his article in *The Soviet Photograph* [*Sovetskoe foto*], photomontage had conquered the country. Hundreds of provincial magazines and books included photographic images which were badly combined with coloured geometric elements. The simplicity of the method opened impressive possibilities for semi-professional sloppy work [*khaltura*] produced by people quite remote from Constructivist ideals, but interested in easy money (Figure 52).

Although Shklovsky considered that photomontage was *passé*, the technique was destined to have a second life after the end of NEP with the beginning of the Cultural Revolution and the inauguration of the First Five Year Plan (1928-1932).

The Paper Mountain – photomontage in the service of the First Five Year Plan: 1928 – 1932.

Achieving the ‘great change’ [*veliky perelom*] required a massive propaganda campaign, exceeding all of the Party’s previous agitational efforts. Many artists and poets mistakenly saw the end of NEP as a return to the radicalism of the revolutionary years. The end of NEP or the period of ‘fatigue’ as the literary critic Piotr Kogan called it, led to a broad radicalization of cultural practices.¹⁰¹ Some of

¹⁰¹ See Piotr Kogan, *Literatura etikh let* (Ivanovo-Voznesensk: Izdaatel'stvo “Osnova,” 1924), p. 12.

these efforts recalled the Constructivist experiments of the mid 1920s, namely the production of propaganda designs for textiles, projects for mass clothing, etc.¹⁰² In contrast to its historical predecessor, however, ‘Constructivism-2’ was characterised by the total domination of ideology in every field of artistic experimentation. For a short time, radical artists were permitted to combine formalist approaches with the required ideological message.

One of the main tasks of the Cultural Revolution, which intensified towards the end of the 1920s, was to eradicate finally all intellectual opposition to the regime, which had managed to survive during NEP. In his speech at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party on 9 July 1928, Stalin formulated his idea of the intensification of the class struggle, which became the justification for the ensuing repressive measures.¹⁰³

During the First Five-Year Plan, the avant-garde’s participation in cultural production was more than welcomed. It looked as if many innovative practices returned and were re-vitalized by the political process. However, these cultural ‘revolutionary vanguards’, which were used predominantly for mobilizing the

¹⁰² See *100 % Ivanovo. Agitatsionnyi tekstil’ 1920-kh – 1930-kh godov iz sobraniya Ivanovskogo gosudarstvennogo istoriko-kraevedcheskogo muzeya Im. D. G. Burylina, Vol. I, Ivanovskiy agitatsionnyi tekstil’: Rozhdenie i zhizn’, dizain i proizvodstvo, utraty i muzeifikatsiya* (Moscow: Pervaya publikatsiya, 2010). See also Aleksei Fedorov-Davydov, ‘Iskusstvo tekstilya’, in *Izofront: klassovaya bor’ba*, ed. by Pavel Novitsky (Moscow: OGIZ-IZOGIZ, 1931).; Elena Eikengol’ts, ‘Problemy massovoi odezhdy’, in *Izofront: Klassovaya bor’ba*, ed. by Pavel Novitsky (Moscow: OGIZ-IZOGIZ, 1931).

¹⁰³ Iosif Stalin, ‘Ob industrializatsii i khlebnnoi probleme: Rech’ na plenum TsK VKP(b) iulia 1928 g’, in *Sochineniya* (Moscow: OGIZ, Gosudarstvennoe izdatel’sтво politicheskoi literatury, 1949), XI.

propaganda effort and for the destruction of ‘class enemies’ on the cultural front, were discarded by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan.

In 1927, Aleksandr Rodchenko, who had abandoned photomontage and devoted himself to photography after 1923, designed the montage covers for Mayakovsky’s poem *A Conversation with a Financial Inspector about Poetry* [*Razgovor s fininspektorom of poezii*]¹⁰⁴ (Figure 53). In these compositions Rodchenko used photographs of the poet that the artist had taken in his studio in 1924. He used these staged photographs of Mayakovsky many times in various montages. They were published and shown at different photographic exhibitions.¹⁰⁵ The iconography of the image-conscious Mayakovsky was constructed with surprising precision. The self-appointed leader of ‘the army of the arts’ usually adopted static poses and never smiled. In his cover montage, Rodchenko placed a large image of Mayakovsky holding a manuscript in the right part of the composition, which was divided by a diagonal into two triangles. In the left part, there was a desk and a figure of a little man - the financial inspector.¹⁰⁶ In *About This* of 1923, the giant poet had looked strange and grotesque, but by 1927, the composition in which Mayakovsky was juxtaposed with the dwarfish inspector seemed to paraphrase the iconography related to Lenin. If the front

¹⁰⁴ Vladimir Mayakovsky, *Razgovor s fininspektorom o poezii* (Tiflis: Zakkniga, 1927).

¹⁰⁵ The portraits were used for montages in the Mayakovsky issue of the *USSR in Construction* (No 7, 1940.) In the photograph of the poet used for the cover of *Razgovor s fininspektorom of poezii* the pages of manuscript in the hands of the poet were conveniently changed to a large Soviet passport.

¹⁰⁶ IroniCally for this purpose Rodchenko used a photograph of Radion Raskol’nikov (1892-1939), who was a revolutionary, a founder of the Soviet Navy, and later a diplomat, who defected to the West being appalled by the Stalin’s bloody repressions. See Fedor Raskol’nikov, ‘Otkrytoe pis’mo Stalinu’, in *Otkryvaia novye strnitsy... Mezhdunarodnye voprosy: Sobitiya i ludi* (Moscow: Politizdat, 1989).

cover unintentionally looked almost like a parody of a propaganda poster, the back cover was blasphemous – the close-up of Mayakovsky staring sternly at the viewer, with his shaved head turned towards the globe around which aeroplanes flew, reflected the poet's gigantomania, but was obviously more appropriate for an image of a political leader (Figure 54). In 1924, for his image of Lenin, Senkin had utilised the same format of Lilya Brik's face that Rodchenko had used on the cover of *About This*, in effect turning Lilya Brik into Lenin. In 1927, Rodchenko turned Lenin into Mayakovsky. Ironically the development of Mayakovsky's iconography became the prelude to constructing Stalin's iconography, which was established in the early 1930s. The images of Lenin, even when they were placed within Klucis' geometrical compositions, were often dynamic. The iconographies of Mayakovsky and Stalin were predominantly static.¹⁰⁷ Lenin's facial expressions in the few photographs taken in his lifetime displayed laughter, concentration, or the smile and conviction of the public speaker. In contrast, the photographs of Mayakovsky showed a face devoid of human emotion.¹⁰⁸ This image, which had been constructed in private, was soon canonized by the state. Subsequently, officialdom dictated that Mayakovsky was always shown as serious, while Stalin was always depicted with a faint, Giaconda-like smile.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Stalin's preference for static representations is illustrated in an anecdote by the musician Yury Elagin. During a concert at the Bolshoi Theatre on 21 January 1938, Nikolai Pogodin's play *A Man with a Rifle* dedicated to the events of the October Revolution was performed. Ruben Simonov played Stalin. The actor, nervous that Stalin would be witnessing and judging his acting, had a muscular seizure on stage and could barely move or speak. Stalin praised the actor's immobility as a perfect interpretation of his character. See Iury Elagin, *Ukroshchenie iskusstv* (Tenafly, New Jersey: Ermitazh, 1988), pp. 352–353.

¹⁰⁸ On the dynamic elements in the Lenin's iconography see Akinsha, 'Malevich and Lenin: Image, Ritual and the Cube', p. 151.

¹⁰⁹ Stalin put his own iconography under the strict control of Glavlit (The Main Department for the affairs of literature and publishing) – the Soviet censorship. When the officials of the Special Section of Glavlit were not sure if photographs were suitable for publication they had to show

Rodchenko's composition for the poem's cover used a static image of the poet-giant, but his design possessed a dynamic quality. This was produced by the colour scheme, which divided the composition into two distinctive fields – blue and pink, the diagonal placement of the table, the strange positioning of the financial inspector, who was almost falling backwards in his encounter with the poet, and the diagonal placement of the 'financial inspector' in the poem's title.

Rodchenko was responsive to current trends. Strictly symmetric compositions, overloaded with photographic elements were rejected in favour of dynamism, a sober use of imagery, and a strong emphasis on the principal element, whether it was the gigantic figure of the leader, a worker, a collective farmer, a factory chimney, or the a turbine of a power plant.

Symmetrical compositions were on the way out. Oleg Kusakov wrote,

Despite the fact, that photomontage still has no strictly defined canonical principles of composition, we can talk about the general task of proletarian photomontage as a dynamic style. In contrast to the feudal-monarchic structure, the proletariat as the rising class doesn't need the affirmation of immobility and solidification of forms. On the contrary, moving life forward, maintaining the dynamics of continuous construction, it demands dynamic forms for the organisation of its consciousness. The solution of the problem of the dynamic style of proletarian photomontage has to be

them to Stalin, or in his absence, to the secretary of the Central Committee – *Bol'shaya tsenzura. Pisateli i zhurnalisty v Strane Sovetov. 1917 – 1956* (Moscow: Materik, 2005), p. 400.

combined with the simultaneous solution of tasks concerning monumental style, because the monumentality of the tasks of socialist construction demands heroic zeal for the organisation of the viewer's consciousness.¹¹⁰

During the First Five-Year Plan, the dominant style of propaganda posters was defined by Klucis and his followers and perfectly corresponded to the demand for dynamic composition and monumentality (posters even increased in size). The two compositional structures that were constantly used in photomontage at this time were the diagonal and the curve, alone or in combination. Klucis, for instance, employed a diagonal composition in *The First of May, the Day of International Proletarian Solidarity* (1930); *To the Storm of the 3rd Year of the Five-Year Plan* (1930); *We Will Return the Coal Debt to the Country* (1930); and *Long Live the USSR, the Motherland of Working People of the Whole World* (1931), (Figures 55 - 58). Klucis used the curve shape in posters like *The USSR Is the Shock Brigade of the World Proletariat* (1931); and *Let's Provide Millions of Qualified Workers for the 518 New Factories and Plants* (1931), (Figures 59 - 60). These efficient, but simple compositional solutions were copied by Klucis' numerous followers.

At the same time, the photomontage posters of the First Five-Year Plan re-introduced certain elements of linear perspective (often rather naively interpreted) and sometimes even used reverse perspective, as in *Let's Provide Millions of Qualified Workers for the 518 New Factories and Plants*, where the most remote

¹¹⁰ Oleg Kusakov. 'Sotsial'noe znachenie fotomontazha.' *Sovetskoe foto*, 1930, No 5, pp. 130 - 131.

figure is the biggest one and the proletarians become smaller as they approach the foreground.

In 1931, it looked as if the ‘strictly defined canonical principles of composition’ for photomontage had been formulated, but the end of the *Sturm und Drang* of the First Five-Year Plan heralded a new wave of structural changes. These modifications affected both the content and the form of propaganda photomontages. After 1932, the number of posters that included large images of Stalin increased enormously. At the same time, compositions began to lose their dynamic character and return to a more static symmetry. In many ways, these developments were stimulated by the establishment of Stalin’s cult of personality. Jan Plamper observed:

...the cult of Joseph Stalin (1879-1953) started on 21 December 1929, when, on the occasion of Stalin’s 50th birthday, a wide-scale campaign for his aggrandisement was initiated in the mass media and in the first instance in such central newspapers as *Pravda*. This powerful beginning was followed by three years of hiatus, which is usually explained by Stalin’s desire to avoid associating his name with the catastrophic outcome of forced collectivization, or as the result of the fact that his key position in the Party had not yet been finally consolidated. By mid-1933, the cult of Stalin started to acquire a mass character, and from the end of the 1930s a regulated system of signs – the canon, which from that point on was

carefully observed but continued to evolve - was used for the creation of different images of Stalin.¹¹¹

Photomontage propaganda posters were among the main media used to establish the cult of personality.

The monumentality that was required from photomontage produced new applications for the medium. In 1898 André Mellerio wrote about French posters of the period, that 'they are the frescoes, if not of the poor man, at least of the crowd.'¹¹² By the end of the 1920s, photomontage had become 'ersatz' frescoes. The pioneering role in this development was played by El Lissitzky, who in 1928, with the collaboration of Sergei Senkin, produced a photographic frieze for the Russian pavilion at the *Pressa* exhibition in Cologne (Figure 61). According to Benjamin Buchloh:

The actual structure of the photo fresco followed the strategies that Lissitzky had laid out in the essay that accompanied the catalogue of his first exhibition design in 1927. Large-scale photographic prints were assembled in an irregular grid formation and the visual dynamic of the montage resulted from the juxta-position of the various camera angles and

¹¹¹ Jan Plamper, *Alkhimiya vlasti: Kul't Stalina v izobrazitel'nom iskusstve* (Moskva: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2010), p. 7.

¹¹² André Mellerio, 'La Lithographie Originale En Couleurs', in *The Color Revolution: Color Lithography in France, 1890-1900*, trans. by Margaret Needham (Santa Barbara: P. Smith, 1978), p. 79.

positions, but no longer from a jagged linear network of seams and edges of heterogeneous photographic fragments.¹¹³

This observation is only partially correct because the ‘jagged linear network of seams and edges’ was replaced by large constructed frames, which divided the photographic images and gave the frieze a structural carcass. Many de-contextualised photographs were placed on a coloured background. Lissitzky contrasted close-ups with more panoramic photographs of the masses, influenced by the cinematic ‘glimpses’ of different images in the montage phrase. Contrast placement of close ups and full-length figures of various sizes in the framework of the monumental montage compositions recalled the classical montage of film stills in which close ups interchanged with wide shots. Even the size of the segments of El Lissitzky photographic frescoes recalled the size of a cinema screen. Visitors were already accustomed to see black and white images of this size at the cinema. The difference was that the cinematic images moved, but Lissitzky’s composite static images on the segment ‘screens’ were multiplied to create a freeze. The importance of the Cologne photographic frescoes lay not only in their use of the montage principle, but in the fact that the composition of the photographic images was employed on a monumental scale. Lissitzky became the founding father of two tendencies that strongly influenced twentieth-century culture – the use of photomontage in exhibition design and the transformation of photography into a medium for street advertising (political and commercial). Photographic frescoes generated the desire to produce gigantic photographic

¹¹³ Buchloh, ‘From Faktura to Factography’, p. 106.

prints for use in the urban environment. The aspiration to cover the facades of buildings with photographic murals led to numerous unsuccessful experiments to create a kind of photographic emulsion which could be applied to stone, plywood and canvas.¹¹⁴ Klucis wrote, 'The method of photomontage is coming out of the margins of the printing industry. The successful working out of the application of photomontage in architecture is in progress. Very soon we will see photomontage panels and frescoes on a colossal scale.'¹¹⁵ Although 'colossal' photographic frescoes never appeared on public buildings, huge photographic billboards were produced to decorate Soviet cities for the revolutionary holidays. The 25-metre-high photographic portraits of Lenin and Stalin, which Klucis produced and installed on Sverdlov Square in Moscow for May Day 1932, were ecstatically hailed by the Soviet press as an 'international achievement' (Figures 62).¹¹⁶

Photomontage was ready to compete with Klucis' 'giants'. The same year in Leningrad for the celebration of the anniversary of the October revolution the biggest photomontage in the world was assembled. It was 11 metres tall, and 21 metres wide and covered more than two stories of the Winter Palace where it was hung on the façade¹¹⁷ (Figures 63 - 64). The idea of producing this monster photomontage originated with Vladimir Matveev, the head of the Leningrad

¹¹⁴ P. Shul'ts and M. Dmitriev, 'K probleme monumental'nogo fotoizobrazheniya', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 10, 1932, p. 21.

¹¹⁵ Klutsis, 'Fotomontazh, kak novyi vid agitatsionnogo iskusstva', p. 131.

¹¹⁶ Gustavs Klutsis, 'Mirovoe dostizhenie', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 6, 1932.

¹¹⁷ L. Pitsersky, 'Foto v Leningrade v Oktyabrskie dni', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 10, 1933.

branch of the State photographic agency, *Soyuzfoto*.¹¹⁸ Evidently, he wanted to compete with Moscow and produce something even more impressive than Klucis' colossal May Day photographs. Mikhail Razulevich, a famous photomontage artist who specialised in book illustration, executed the work.¹¹⁹ Razulevich's original montage, created from 300 photographs in the Leningrad archive of *Souzfoto*, was only 1.5 x 2.5 metres. The composition was enlarged and retouched and ready to be exhibited by the evening of 6 November. Unfortunately, the engineer responsible for its installation made a critical mistake, and the gigantic photomontage fell down at 5 am on 7 November and was completely destroyed.¹²⁰

Razulevich's composition recalled the iconography of the Tower of Babel. He created a mountain of workers in the foreground with another mountain in the background made of factory pipes, blast furnaces, and industrial equipment. Unlike Lissitzky's photographic frescoes, Razulevich's montage was almost seamless and imperfectly mimicked linear perspective. He called his hierarchical and symmetrical composition not a photographic fresco, but a photographic picture. The title of Razulevich's composition was *The Greatness of Our Programme is Living People*, which is a quote from Stalin's speech at a meeting

¹¹⁸ Trust Soyuzfoto, all-Union corporation for the centralized production of photographic illustrations for newspapers, magazines, publishing houses and other purposes was established in 1931.

¹¹⁹ Today Razulevich is completely forgotten. The only publication to pay tribute to his photomontage illustrations is Mikhail Karasik's work on Soviet illustrated children books of the 1920s-1930s. See Mikhail Karasik, *Udrnaya kniga sovetskoi detvory* (Moscow: Kontakt-Kul'tura, 2010).

¹²⁰ If this had occurred a few years later, all those involved with the gigantic photomontage would have been immediately arrested as saboteurs. Vladimir Matveev was arrested in 1935 as an 'undisarmed Trotskyist.' He died in 1940 in the GULAG.

for industrial management on 23 June 1931.¹²¹ The same year Klucis' famous poster using the same quote depicted Stalin marching with columns of coal-miners (Figure 65). Unlike Klucis, Razulevich did not include an image of Stalin. Instead, at the centre he placed a gigantic board with the quote from Stalin's speech, held by two proletarians. Stalin's words were turned into a colossal tablet with the sacred text inscribed upon it; Moses was absent, but the law was present. Dull symmetry and an attempt to reconstruct the illusionistic three-dimensional space of photography, while combining hundreds of photographic fragments replaced the cinematic fragmentation of Lissitzky's photographic frescoes.

Photomontage had another weakness, which became obvious at the beginning of the 1930s, when *LEF*'s 1920s dream about the de-professionalization of art enjoyed a revival, inspired by the Cultural Revolution that accompanied the First Five-Year Plan. Everybody could make photomontages. The pages of the magazine *The Soviet Photograph* [*Sovetskoe foto*] were full of letters from factories and collective farms, describing how amateur photographers were creating photomontaged wall newspapers. A member of the amateur photographic circle at the Free Ploughman Collective Farm reported on an installation (Figure 66):

The Photomontage has attracted the special attention of the population. It was possible to observe how peasants, women, and children spent whole days standing in front of the display. The montage for the first time

¹²¹ Iosif Stalin, 'Novaia obstanovka – novye zadachi khoziaistvennogo stroitel'stva: Rech' na soveshchanii khoziaistvennikov 23 iunia 1931 g.', in *Sochineniya* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1951), XIII, p. 80.

demonstrated all aspects of the shock work in the collective farm. It is necessary to mention that our photographic group is pushing for socialist competition and shock labour and, as a result, our collective farm is one of the most advanced.¹²²

Members of a student photographic group described how their first photomontage was, ‘illuminating the everyday life of our Saratov State university.’¹²³ In October 1930 the Moscow Electric Factory [Elektrozavod] published a photomontaged newspaper designed by the factory’s photographic circle. The cover included images of a gigantic electric bulb, the factory’s director switching on a master switch, and crates filled with the manufactured bulbs, growing in size to indicate increased output. The inevitable industrial landscape was placed in the lower part of the composition (Figure 67). ‘The artists, members of the circle, and the editorial board for a long time couldn’t agree about the montage.’¹²⁴ Eventually agreement was reached; the grass-roots newspaper was published with a circulation of 12 000 copies, and hailed by the Soviet press. Other factories

¹²² N. Palagin, ‘Nash pervyi fotomontazh’, *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 23, 1930, p. 677.

¹²³ U. Rall’, ‘Kak my sdelaali fotomontazh’, *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 10, 1930, p. 435.

¹²⁴ Timofeev, Kantselenbogen and Shingarev, ‘Fotokruzhok “Elektrozavoda.”’, *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 21, 1930, p. 435. It is interesting to what extent the amateurish montage of the Elektrozavod workers corresponded to the main iconographic trends of the period. The image of the gigantic electric light bulb put in the centre of the photomontage composition becoming by 1930-1931 a common stereotype. One year later after the factory’s newspaper was published, Sen’kin made montage illustrations for the book of Tatiana Tess and S. Senkin, *Marsh molodykh* (Moscow: Molodaya Gvardiya, 1931). One of the illustrations Called *The Komsomol is the Patron of Electrification (Komsomok shef elektrifikatsii)* was constructed almost like the montage published in the Elektrozavod newspaper, with a gigantic electric bulb placed in the centre. On the iconography of the electric light bulb in Soviet art of the 1920s-1930s, see Mikhail Karasik, ‘Lampochka’, *Projektor*, 8, No. 3 (2009). On the problem of light and electricity in Soviet culture of the period, see Julia Bekman Chadaga, ‘Light in Captivity: Spectacular Glass and Soviet Power in the 1920s and 1930s’, *Slavic Review*, 66, No. 1 (2007), pp. 82-105.

published their own photomontaged postcards featuring prominent workers (Figure 59).

The Soviet Photograph recommended possible topics for ‘do it yourself’ montage compositions such as ‘Socialist construction is moved forward by the toiled-hardened hands of the working class’; ‘The shock-worker is the master and the constructor of the country. It is he, the unknown hero, who is creating the new way of life’; ‘Millions of working hands have voted and will vote for the Socialist reorganization of industry’; and ‘To overtake and surpass means to develop a really revolutionary pace of work and a grandiose construction’.¹²⁵ All the topics were impressively abstract and belonged to the realm of timeless propaganda, which started to gain ground by the beginning of the 1930s. The subjects were suitable for amateur photomontaged newspapers, but would also have been appropriate for the propaganda issued by the main publishing houses.

In addition to suggesting possible topics, the author of the article also explained how the photomontages had to be composed. For example, he listed possible components for a montage called ‘Millions of Working Hands’, and suggested, ‘The voting hands as the central spot of the composition. Plans and diagrams in synthetic unity with the industrial landscape, still-life and genre scenes.’¹²⁶ This advice reads like a description of Klucis’ poster of the same year, entitled *We Will Fulfil the Plan of Great Works* (Figure 69). It is difficult to say whether the article in *The Soviet Photograph* preceded the poster or *vice versa*. Klucis’s ‘Millions of

¹²⁵ Kusakov, ‘Sotsial’noe znachenie fotomontazha’, p. 130.

¹²⁶ Kusakov, ‘Sotsial’noe znachenie fotomontazha’.

working hands' proved to be the perfect example of an image to which any slogan could be applied. In 1931 the same poster was published in the January issue of the magazine *The Brigade of Artists* [*Brigada khudozhnikov*] with the caption *Working Men and Women! Everybody Take Part in the Re-Election of the Soviets* (Figure 70). It is quite possible that the image of the enlarged voting hand was not invented either by Klucis, or by the author of the article in *The Soviet Photograph*. In 1927, an anonymous artist, 'M.B.' from the visual arts [IZO] workshop of Proletkult produced a poster called *Proletarian Forces Go to Elect the Soviets!* (Figure 71). The enlarged image of the red voting hand looks exactly like the raised palm in Klucis's poster. At this time, images were constantly travelling from one medium to another.

The posters of Klucis, and the photomontages of *USSR in Construction* and other magazines and publications inspired an avalanche of artless stylizations produced by 'thousands of unknown artists workers and collective farmers, who at their work places are illustrating shock political topics by the methods of photomontage'¹²⁷ This heralded the transformation of the medium during the First Five-Year Plan when photomontage came to dominate the visual face of the country: propaganda posters, billboards, magazine covers, museum displays, exhibitions, and even the wall newspapers in factories and remote collective farms were executed in the medium of photomontage.¹²⁸ The dominance of montage in the mass consciousness sometimes remained unnoticed even by art

¹²⁷ Kusakov, 'Sotsial'noe znachenie fotomontazha', p. 131.

¹²⁸ Gustav Klutsis, 'Fotomontazh Kak Novyi Vid Agitatsionnogo Iskusstva', in *Izofront. Klassovaya Bor'ba Na Fronte Prostranstvennykh Iskusstv. Sbornik Statei Ob'edineniya 'Oktyabr'*, ed. by Peter Novitsky (Moscow, Leningrad: OGIZ-IZOGIZ, 1931), p. 126.

experts. A conventional poster produced by the visual arts [IZO] group of the Orlov club, proudly reproduced in the book *Art of the Workers* prepared by the State Russian Museum, in reality was no more than a remix of plagiarized photomontages by Gustavs Klucis (Figure 72).¹²⁹

Nevertheless in the late 1920s and early 1930s the very power of the photographic element was contested. In 1923, LEF indicated that photography was superior to drawing; in 1930 the accidental character of the snapshot came to be seen as a serious weakness. Klucis echoed the *LEF* article and stated that ‘a snapshot is not a drawing of a visual fact, but its precise fixation’ and asserted that ‘This precision and documentary quality give the photographic snapshot the power to influence a viewer that the graphic image never could achieve’.¹³⁰ By 1930, this was beginning to sound old fashioned. Iosif Alperovich commented:

Even very successful photographs are usually inferior to an image produced by an artist with the help of a pencil, brush or pen, because the artist, having two eyes (binocular reception), reflects an object as if he sees it from different sides, and thanks to this is able to endow the image with a spatial character, the dynamics of movement, and an emphasis on its most characteristic qualities. The one-eyed camera, instead of reflecting movement, probably reflects the characteristic qualities, but in a frozen, static moment.¹³¹

¹²⁹ *Iskusstvo Rabochikh. Kruzhki IZO Rabochikh Klubov Leningrada i Masterskie IZO Oblpolitprosveta Pri Dpr Im. Gertsena* (Leningrad: Gosudarstvennyi Russky Muzei, 1928).

¹³⁰ Klutsis, ‘Fotomontazh, kak novyi vid agitatsionnogo iskusstva’, p. 120.

¹³¹ Iosif Al’perovich, ‘O fotomontazhe’, *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 1, 1930, p. 5.

Alperovich believed that the only way to overcome this deficiency of the photographic image was to include it in a photomontage composition which gave its author the opportunity to achieve the desired synthesis.

Oleg Kusakov echoed these sentiments, 'It makes no difference how good individual snapshots are of Soviet everyday life and construction, they are ultimately merely disconnected fragments, extracted from life, and because of this they cannot claim to a synthetic unity in reflecting reality.'¹³²

This distrust of photography lay the foundation for Socialist Realism's attitude that photomontage was an inferior art form. By the early 1950s, this opinion had become official, although it only began to crystallize during the discussion concerning the work of John Heartfield and Gustavs Klucis. This debate was provoked by Heartfield's arrival in the USSR, but was fuelled by a more serious and dangerous event - the turmoil in the world of the visual propaganda produced by the Party's attack on Anatoly Lunacharsky for publishing a prohibited Soviet *lubok*, which depicted Stalin meeting women-delegates, in the magazine *Art* [*Iskusstvo*].¹³³ Soviet *lubok* was the title given to the posters produced by the Association of the Artists of the Revolution [AKhR]. The word *lubok* referred to the traditional Russian narrative folk pictures. In reality, these posters were no more than colour reproductions of figurative oil paintings, given agitational

¹³² Kusakov, 'Sotsial'noe znachenie fotomontazha', p. 130.

¹³³ See Anatoly Lunacharsky, *Lunacharsky – v skretariat TsK VKP (b) Ob oshibke, dopuschennoi v zhurnale 'Iskusstvo*, 1929, Arkhiv Aleksandra N. Ykovleva .

captions.¹³⁴ The publication of the ‘offending’ poster cost Lunacharsky his position as People’s Commissar of Enlightenment. In 1931 the Central Committee of the Communist Party passed a ‘Decree on Poster and Fine Art Production’,¹³⁵ which initiated a broad discussion about the quality of Soviet visual propaganda. Klucis was attacked by the cultural conservatives, and this offensive was AKhR’s effort to distract attention from the ‘offending’ poster and direct criticism away from themselves and towards the ‘formalists.’ Maria Gough has argued that,

...despite the virulence of that discourse with respect to Klucis, the Soviet montageur emerged triumphantly from the anti-October attacks of the fall of 1931, returning to the Moscow scene in early 1932 with a slew of photomontage posters devoted to Stalin. During the next six years, through to his summary arrest and execution on February 26, 1938, Klucis would enjoy one prestigious propaganda commission after another, from the “photo-giants” of Lenin and Stalin that he installed in Sverdlov Square for the celebration of May Day 1932 to his monumental eulogy to Stalin in the Soviet Pavilion at the Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne, held in Paris in the summer of 1937.¹³⁶

Although Gough’s summary is broadly correct, she misinterpreted the essence of the attacks against Klucis. The debate was not about the merits of a cut-and-paste

¹³⁴ Konstantin Akinsha, “‘Painting Went Out into the Street’: The War of Images Along the Eastern Front”, in *Windows on the War: Soviet TASS Posters at Home and Abroad, 1941-1945* (Chicago, Ill.: Art Institute of Chicago, 2011).

¹³⁵ ‘Postanovlenie TsK VKP(b) o plakatno-kartinnoi produktsii. (Ot 11 Marta 1931 g.)’, in *Sovetskoe iskusstvo za 15 let: Materialy i dokumentatsiya*, ed. by I. Matsa (Moscow, Leningrad: OGIZ-IZOGIZ, 1933), pp. 643–644.

¹³⁶ Maria Gough, ‘Back in the USSR: John Heartfield, Gustavs Klucis, and the Medium of Soviet Propaganda’, *New German Critique*, 36, No. 2 107 (2009), p. 179.

method versus a multiple-exposure approach. It was really about synthesising the photographic elements in a composition and answering the demand that images should be realistic and illusionistic.

The arguments that the conservatives used in 1931 proved to be a time bomb, and were repeated in attacks against photomontage as an art form from the late 1930s to the 1950s. Klucis's tactical victory proved to be a strategic defeat for the medium. It was just a question of time before illusionistic photomontage mimicking traditional painting and Heartfield-like photographic cartoons became the only permitted types of the application of the medium in the Soviet Union.

One of the most important manifestations of photomontage during the 1930s was the magazine *USSR in Construction* [*SSSR na stroike*] which was published in Moscow in 1930-1941.¹³⁷ The magazine was initiated by Maxim Gorky, published in four languages, and was intended to become a showcase of Soviet achievements. The publication was dominated by photographic material, following the example of contemporary illustrated magazines in the West. Various modernist artists and photographers, like Lissitzky, Rodchenko, and Boris Ignatovich, worked for *USSR in Construction* [*SSSR na stroike*], which printed news photographs and photomontages. Its layout, which was developed by Lissitzky, Rodchenko and especially Nikolai Troshin, was based on montage principles and relied heavily on the experience of cinematic montage. One could say that the magazine developed a style that was on the borderline between static

¹³⁷ Publication of the magazine was restarted for one year in 1949. From 1950 the magazine was called *the Soviet Union* (*Sovetsky Souz*).

photomontage and dynamic cinematic montage. This is especially true of the pages of different size, where the changing images and elements of each montage were designed as primitive exercises in multiplication. For example, in issue No. 11 of 1933, an image of a flying aeroplane was printed at the top of a page. The several preceding half-size pages depicted different landscapes and situation as if they were seen from the air and from the earth. By leafing through them, a reader would experience the ‘cinematic’ effect of rapidly changing images of views from the air and from the earth, while the image of the aeroplane remained constant (Figures 73-74).

Thematic issues were often constructed as extended photographic stories, which were called ‘photo-films’ [*foto-film*]. These encouraged experimentation with the projection of narrative photographic sequences onto public buildings.

The avant-garde was directly involved in creating propaganda for the magazine. El Lissitzky and Aleksandr Rodchenko were both instrumental in producing issues of *USSR in Construction* that were dedicated to the formation of the system of Soviet prison camps and the occupation of Western Belorussia and Ukraine as a result of signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. This involvement has caused confusion among American art historians.¹³⁸ Buhloch wrote about Rodchenko’s White Sea – Baltic canal issue, ‘it is undoubtedly clear that at this time

¹³⁸ Issue No. 12 of *USSR in Construction* produced solely by Aleksandr Rodchenko was dedicated to the construction of the White Sea-Baltic canal which was executed by the prisoners of GULAG. See Mikhail Morukov, ‘The White Sea-Baltic Canal’, in *The Economics of Forced Labor: The Soviet Gulag* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 2003), pp. 151–162. The issue of the magazine No 2-3, 1940 dedicated to the occupation of Western Belorussia and Ukraine was designed by El Lissitzky.

Rodchenko did not have any other choice than to comply with the interest of the State Publishing House if he wanted to maintain his role as an artist who participated actively in the construction of the new Soviet society (and we have no reason to doubt this to be his primary motive).¹³⁹ Victor Margolin, in his attempts to apply the American revisionist approach to the history of the USSR, tried to prove that Stalin's Soviet Union was not a totalitarian state, and endeavoured to attribute the avant-garde's active involvement in Stalinist propaganda to official pressure. He believes that Rodchenko went to the canal, 'under pressure from militants in the All-Russian Organization of Proletarian Photographers.'¹⁴⁰ Both art historians want to whitewash the avant-garde hero, and so without any factual foundation suggest that he was 'forced' to glorify the Stalinist camps. This is not true. In fact, Rodchenko's opportunism was impressive. He saw his trip to the canal as a coup, which could help him to reinforce his rather shaky position in the Soviet art hierarchy. The truth surrounding Rodchenko's actions has been incontrovertibly established by Erika Woolf through her meticulous research, which has uncovered the full details of what happened.¹⁴¹ She called Rodchenko 'modernism's willing executioner'.¹⁴² This name could be used collectively for Soviet artists, who took part in the propaganda effort of the late 1920s and the

¹³⁹ Buchloh, 'From Faktura to Factography', p. 117.

¹⁴⁰ Victor Margolin, *The Struggle for Utopia: Rodchenko, Lissitzky, Moholy-Nagy: 1917-1946* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 183. In attempt to be objective Margolin, for example, is explaining his take on the forced labour in the Stalinist USSR, 'I have chosen the term "prison labor" rather than "forced labor" found in Cold War histories [...] While "force labor" is an accurate description of what occurred, it bears the emotional overtone of a society that is under totalitarian control [...] I prefer to address the issue in more objective terms than the heavily loaded ideologiCal ones of the Cold War literature.' Margolin, *The Struggle for Utopia*, p. 186. Such linguistic objectivity looks questionable in light of the current research of the reality of GULAG camps.

¹⁴¹ Wolf, 'USSR in Construction: From Avant-garde to Socialist Realist Practice'.

¹⁴² Wolf, 'USSR in Construction: From Avant-garde to Socialist Realist Practice'.

1930s. The differences between Rodchenko's opportunism and the political fanaticism of Klucis and Lissitzky does not alter the fact of their role in supporting and creating positive propaganda for the Stalinist system.¹⁴³ The unpalatable truth is that the artistic avant-garde was not incompatible with totalitarianism. The naïve view of the avant-garde's relationship to totalitarianism was rooted in the anti-modernist stance of the Nazi and Stalinist regimes (from 1934 onwards), although in both Russia and Italy, radical artists actually played an important initial role in promoting political developments and forming cultural models embodying the new ideology.

Gluing paintings: 1933 – 1940

The issues of *USSR in Construction* published in 1939 – 1940 demonstrate a complete change in the magazine's visual strategies. Photomontage now began to imitate the illusion of three-dimensional space conveyed by the photograph. The magazine's covers featured staged photographic-pictures or montages, like the kiss between a Red Army soldier and a liberated Belorussian peasant.¹⁴⁴ This transformation of photomontage from a medium based on contrasting photographic elements to one that created a virtual reality started around 1933, when Klucis and other artists involved in producing visual propaganda gradually began to transform their works into pictures assembled from photographs. During this period, heavy retouching became an important technique in producing

¹⁴³ Relations between Lissitzky and Willy Munzenberg, during the stay of the artist in Germany need further research and clarification.

¹⁴⁴ This photomontage designed by Viktor Koretsky is often wrongly attributed to El Lissitzky. See Margolin, *The Struggle for Utopia*, p. 207.

photomontage compositions. Staged photographs, which by the beginning of 1930s had replaced images borrowed from a random selection of illustrated magazines, now become the rule. The problem of ‘the characteristic’, which had been important for realist painting in the nineteenth century and was resurrected by Soviet art critics, was applied to both photography and photomontage. By 1934 Klucis was designing posters that mimicked reality and were assembled according to the rules of linear perspective. His *Youth, Board the Aeroplanes*, for example, was an attempt to assemble a logically constructed picture, which recalls Constructivist photography rather than painting. The symbolic structure of the earlier poster compositions is sacrificed to the task of creating a realistic image. Yet this illusionistic picture, being closer to reality than any of Klucis’ earlier posters, has all trademarks of Constructivist photography, such as the close-ups of the two girl-parachutists in the foreground, and the diagonal orientation of the figures of the pilots approaching the aeroplanes. The poster is deprived of the symbolical hierarchy of the sizes of figures, and looks like a photographic snapshot, but it is a ‘snapshot’ assembled from different, unrelated images (Figure 75). A year later, while working on images of Stalin speaking to the masses (often in the Columns Hall of the House of Unions), Klucis started to imitate the frontal news snapshot and even academic painting, free from any modernist novelties (Figure 76). He constructed a traditional image, assembled like a mosaic from photographic fragments. Despite all his efforts, the artist was not able to make it life-like. There were small misbalances in the sizes of the various participants of the exultant audience; the members of the Politbureau were strangely assembled into a diagonal row; and Klucis and Kulagina’s applauding hands, cut out from

staged photographs, were attached to the heads of Kliment Voroshilov and Mikhail Kalinin (Figure 78). All of these features give the composition an awkward, wooden feel. Photomontage had ended its strange journey from an archaic mode of composition based on medieval icons to an attempt to become as good as traditional realist painting. It failed. The images of reality created by photomontage artists in the late 1930s and early 1940s look like realist paintings, but paintings created by assiduous, not professionally trained, amateur artists. Painting could do it better.

Chapter 2: Competing with Cinema.

In his text *Photography and Fetish*, Christian Metz, one of the founding fathers of the semiotics of the European cinema, defined the difference between film and photography:

First difference: the spatio-temporal size of the *lexis* ... The lexis is the socialized unit of reading, of reception: in sculpture, the statue; in music, the 'piece.' Obviously the photographic lexis, a silent rectangle of paper, is much smaller than the cinematic lexis. Even when the film is only two minutes long, these two minutes are *enlarged*, so to speak, by sounds, movements, and so forth, to say nothing about the average surface of the screen and of the very fact of projection. In addition, the photographic lexis has no fixed duration (= temporal size): it depends, rather, on the spectator, who is the master of the look, whereas the timing of the cinematic lexis is determined in advance by the filmmaker. Thus on the one side, 'a free rewriting time'; on the other, 'an imposed reading time'... Thanks to these two features (smallness, possibility of a lingering look), photography is better fit, or more likely, to work as a fetish.

Another important difference pertains to the social use, or more exactly (as film and photography both have many uses) to their principal legitimated use. Film is considered as collective entertainment or as art, according to the work and to the social group. This is probably due to the fact that its production is less accessible to 'ordinary' people than that of photography. Equally, it is in most cases fictional, and our culture still has

a strong tendency to confound art with fiction. Photography enjoys a high degree of social recognition in another domain: that of the presumed real, of life, mostly private and family life, birthplace of the Freudian fetish ... Nevertheless, the kinship between film and collectivity, photography and privacy, remains alive and strong as a social myth, half true like all myths.¹⁴⁵

The myth mentioned by Metz is not applicable to Soviet photography of the 1920s and 1930s, which not only turned into a collective medium, but also tried to escape the limitations of the photographic lexis described by the French semiologist.

Metz, of course, was not the first theoretician to describe the difference between film and photography. In 1927, the Russian formalist critic Yury Tynyanov wrote that, 'Cinema, through its material, is close to the visual and spatial arts such as painting; through its development of that material it is close to the temporal arts such as literature and music.'¹⁴⁶ Tynyanov believed that 'The visible world is represented in cinema not as reality but as its semantic correlation. If it were otherwise,, cinema would only be living (and not living) photography. A visible man and a visible object become elements of cinematic art only if they are represented as semantic signs.'¹⁴⁷ For Tynyanov, 'cinematic time', is not real

¹⁴⁵ Christian Metz, 'Photography and Fetish', *October*, Vol. 34. (Autumn, 1985), pp. 81-2. Metz's definition of film is consonant with the description of the characteristics of cinema provided in 1927 by Adrian Piotrovsky, the Russian theatre director, playwright, translator and cinema theorist, who stated that in film 'are present the atmosphere of publicity, and precisely established duration of the demonstration and the unavoidable appeal to the collective, mass spectator', See Adrian Piotrovsky, 'K teorii kino-zhanrov', in *Poetika kino* (Moscow, Leningrad: Kinopechat', 1927), p. 153.

¹⁴⁶ Yury Tynyanov, 'Ob osnovakh kino', in *Poetika, istoria literatury, kino* (Moscow: Nauka, 1977), p. 329.

¹⁴⁷ Tynyanov, 'Ob osnovakh kino', p. 330.

duration, but is relative and is based on ‘the interrelation of stills or the interrelation of visual elements inside stills.’¹⁴⁸

At the beginning of the 1930s, the theoreticians of Soviet photography tried to change the essence of the medium and turn it into a temporal art. Photography, which had competed with painting during the 1920s, started to compete with cinema. Photography was doomed to lose, but attempts to adopt cinematic terminology and film montage devices, while rejecting the medium’s traditional format and material for the temptation of light projection left its imprint on the development of Soviet photography.

In September 1931, the German communist magazine *AIZ* [*Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung*] published a series of photographs called ‘One day in the life of a Moscow worker's family’ created by the Photographic Union [Soyuzfoto], which had been set up to produce photographic illustrations for newspapers, magazines, publishing houses, and other consumers of photographic information, throughout the entire Soviet Union.¹⁴⁹ The photo-story was dedicated to the everyday life of the worker Nikolai Filippov, his wife, and his children, covering all aspects of their daily existence, from work and education to their living conditions, grocery shopping, laundry, and free time. The series became an instant success. The

¹⁴⁸ Tynyanov, ‘Ob osnovakh kino’, p. 333.

¹⁴⁹ Soyuzfoto was established by Agitpop (the Department of Agitation and Propaganda) of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party in 1931. It became the centre of visual propaganda, ‘a factory of photographs’ produced for different political campaigns. Soyuzfoto had a monopoly on photographic production in the USSR and was responsible for producing photographic posters, post cards, propaganda photograph sets, and photographic slogans for regional and factory newspapers.

communist propaganda magazine, financed by International Workers' Aid [Mezhrabpom], an arm of the Comintern, had an impressive circulation of a half a million. However, issue No 38, in which the photographs were published, was sold out, and *AIZ* had to print a second edition. In Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, and Czechoslovakia, where the magazine was distributed, it provoked fierce discussions – the anti-communist press accused *AIZ* of producing a fake report with the aim of propaganda. All the family of Nikolai Filippov, a worker at the Moscow factory 'The Red Proletarian' immediately became 'Comintern celebrities' and received hundreds of letters from German, Austrian and Czech workers. However, some foreign proletarians were doubtful that the photo-story depicted the true living conditions of a Moscow worker. On 15 October 1931, a delegation of German workers, all of whom were Social Democrats, arrived in Moscow and asked to meet Filippov - they visited his apartment and factory and even checked the documents reproduced in the report. The delegation came to the conclusion that everything depicted was true - Soviet propaganda was triumphant.¹⁵⁰ Ironically, the German workers who came to check Filippov's photo story involuntarily became the heroes of another photographic essay, *What 20 Social Democrats Saw in the USSR*, which was immediately manufactured by Soyuzfoto.¹⁵¹

This triumph of serial photography made the term 'photo-story' quite fashionable. In the context of discussions conducted by the magazine *The Proletarian*

¹⁵⁰ '24 chasa iz zhizni moskovskoi rabochei sem'i', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 4, 1931.

¹⁵¹ Semen Evgenov, '1 Maya. Organizuem boevoi smotr dostizheny proletraskoi fotografii', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 3, 1932, p. 3.

Photograph [*Proletarskoe foto*] it meant photo-reportage, which used multiple photographs to create a narrative or story, depicting current political and social developments. In 1932, it was conveniently forgotten that the first photo-stories were actually created by Aleksandr Rodchenko as early as in 1924.¹⁵²

The Filippov photo-story was produced by a special brigade of Soyuzfoto, which included the photographers Arkady Shaikhet, Maks Alpert, and Solomon Tules, as well as Leonid Mezhericher, the critic and theoretician of the Russian Union of Proletarian Photographers [ROPF] who became the brain behind the series. Mezhericher later complained that to demonstrate the ‘complexity of reality’, photographers needed to produce a minimum of 170-200 negatives.¹⁵³ ‘The brigade, however, could only produce 110 negatives, of which 32 were rejected for various reasons.’¹⁵⁴ There was no time for additional photography, so the series included only 78 shots. Nevertheless, the modest (according to Mezhericher) size of the story did not prevent it being an enormous success. Even *Pravda*, the official newspaper of the Communist Party, praised it.¹⁵⁵ Numerous

¹⁵² Leonid Volkov-Lannit, *Aleksandr Rodchenko. Risuet, fotografiruet, sporit.* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1968), p. 122.

¹⁵³ Leonid Mezhericher (1898 -1938) one of the leading theoreticians of the Soviet photography was born in St. Petersburg. He actively participated in the Civil War keeping different political positions in the Red Army. In 1922 resumed his career as a journalist and editor. In 1925 Mezhericher became one of founders of the Association of Moscow Photo-reporters. During the early 1930 he was the director of the International Department of Soyuzfoto. He was arrested in 1937. Mezhericher in 1938 was executed by shooting for participation in the ‘counter-revolutionary Trotskyist group.’ He was posthumously rehabilitated in 1957.

¹⁵⁴ Leonid Mezhericher, ‘Ovladet’ seriinoi s’emkoi politicheskaya zadacha fotografii’, *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 4, 1931, p. 18.

¹⁵⁵ ‘24 chasa iz zhizni moskovskoi rabochei sem’i’, *Pravda*, 24 October 1931.

newspapers and magazines, Soviet and foreign, reprinted the photographs that had appeared in *AIZ*.¹⁵⁶

The writer and former *LEF* [the Left Front of Arts] theoretician, Sergei Tretyakov, was the only author to make any sharp or critical comments about it. Although he praised the series of photographs for representing a new genre of photography, he also noticed that some photographs deviated from reality. He observed that Filippov was photographed in a half-empty tram, when he was returning home from his factory. Then this shot was included in the montage of photographs depicting the worker's morning. Tretyakov pointed out, 'We know, that nowadays Moscow trams are completely overcrowded,' (Figure 79).¹⁵⁷ He also detected another inaccuracy: the numbers on a bill from a food store reproduced in the series and the numbers provided in the caption to the photograph were different (Figure 80). Such close scrutiny of minor details was typical of the whole discussion about the Filippov series in particular and of the practice of the photo-story or 'photo-essay' in general. Even so, Tretyakov's remarks offended the photographers:

We were asked why Filippov is going on a tram where people are not sitting on each other. It seems that the question is justified. It is known that Moscow trams are not suffering from a lack of passengers. We photographed Filippov in a relatively empty tram because he lives on the outskirts of the city, where the trams are not completely full, and, finally

¹⁵⁶ 'Interes k "Sem'e Filippovykh" za rubezhom ne ostyvaet', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 4, 1932, 10.

¹⁵⁷ Sergei Tret'yakov, 'Ot fotoserii - k dlitel'nomu fotonabludeniyu', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 4, 1931, p. 45.

we stressed that a tram ride in Moscow costs 10 kopeks while in other countries it is much more expensive.¹⁵⁸

As mentioned above, Leonid Mezhericher gave the initial impulse to the creation of the Filippov series. He became not only ‘the director’ of this particular photo-story, but also the most important promoter of the practice of the photo-story or serial photography in the Soviet Union. He wrote in 1931, ‘The problem of serial photography became one of the central problems of photo-agitation and propaganda. The photo-series is undoubtedly the highest form of photo-information because only with an organized number of photographs is it possible to convey a fully rounded picture of the separate episodes in the struggle for socialism.’¹⁵⁹

In 1930, Mezhericher declared the final death of painting and the triumph of photography on the pages of the *Soviet Photographic Almanac* [*Sovetsky fotografichesky almanakh*] published by the magazine *The Soviet Photograph*.¹⁶⁰ His highly polemic article was entitled ‘Treatise’, and was written in the form of a letter to a friend called Sergei.¹⁶¹ On one level, it recalled *LEF*’s approach to photography.¹⁶² Stressing the crisis of the visual arts both in the West and in the

¹⁵⁸ Arkady Shaikhet, Maks Al’pert and Solomon Tules, ‘Kak my snimali Filippovykh’, *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 4, 1931, p. 46.

¹⁵⁹ Leonid Mezhericher, ‘Seriinye foto - vysshaia stupen’ fotopropagandy’, *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 3, 1931, p. 6.

¹⁶⁰ Leonid Mezhericher, ‘K voprosu ob iskusstve i sovremennosti’, in *Sovetsky Fotografichesky Al’manakh*, ed. by V. P. Mikulin (Moscow: “Ogonek,” 1930), pp. 43-103.

¹⁶¹ Possibly Mezhericher meant Sergei Tret’yakov with whom he was in friendly relations.

¹⁶² See Osip Brik, ‘Foto-kadr protiv kartiny’, *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 2, 1926, 40-42.

Soviet Union, Mezhericher asked ‘Who will take the place of St. Luke (the patron saint of painters), who is retiring because of old age?’¹⁶³ Painting, he argued, was doomed because it had reached a state of ‘senility.’¹⁶⁴ He asked, ‘can humanity possibly get rid of the decrepit armour of the visual arts on the threshold of socialism?’¹⁶⁵ His conclusion was quite different from *LEF*’s belief in the forthcoming death of art. Convinced that photography was destined to replace painting, Mezhericher stated that, ‘Visual art will not die, as art in general will not die. Being guided by the art of the past, it will merely change its devices and forms, in conformity to the changes in the (economic and social) base’.¹⁶⁶

This viewpoint had clearly assimilated the leftist belief in the economy of the mechanical medium of photography, which is accessible to everyone, in contrast to the elitist medium of painting. Unlike the avant-garde, however, Mezhericher combined this idea with Lenin's concept that proletarian culture had to take the best from the culture of the past,¹⁶⁷ an idea that by the end of the 1920s had itself inspired such groups as the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers [RAPP] and the Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia [AKhRR] to start the campaign of ‘learning from the classics’. In addition, Mezhericher decided to

¹⁶³ Mezhericher, ‘K voprosu ob iskusstve i sovremennosti’, p. 43.

¹⁶⁴ Mezhericher, ‘K voprosu ob iskusstve i sovremennosti’, p. 49.

¹⁶⁵ Mezhericher, ‘K voprosu ob iskusstve i sovremennosti’, p. 43.

¹⁶⁶ Mezhericher, ‘K voprosu ob iskusstve i sovremennosti’, p. 49. Mezhericher used the term ‘base’ in the Marxist sense of the material basis.

¹⁶⁷ Lenin believed that, ‘only by the precise knowledge of culture, created by the whole development of humankind, only by its revision, the proletarian culture could be established.’ – Vladimir Lenin, ‘Zadachi soyuzov molodezhi. (Rech’ na III Vserossiiskom s’ezde Rossiiskogo Kommunisticheskogo Soyuza Molodezhi 2 Oktyabria 1920g.)’, in *Polnoe sobranie sochineny* (Moscow: Institut Marksizma-leninizma pri TsK KPSS, Izdatel’stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1981), XLI, p. 304.

apply the principles formulated by Nikolai Chernyshevsky in his treatise *The Aesthetic Relations of Art to Reality*.¹⁶⁸ Painting was dead not only because it was out-dated and labour-intensive, requiring many years of training and unable to respond quickly to the immediate tasks of visual propaganda, but also because it was idealistic by definition. Mezhericher cited an old anecdote about an admirer asking a painter about details of his canvas, 'What a beautiful landscape! Did you paint this dung from life? - No,' the painter replied - 'the dung is a product of my imagination.'¹⁶⁹

For Mezhericher, the superiority of photography over painting was based on the premise, promoted so enthusiastically by *LEF*, that the 'objectivity of the camera lens' was total.¹⁷⁰ He, however, gave this idea a new slant, arguing that a photographer, unlike a painter, couldn't use dung as a product of the imagination. He stated:

... in order to create an image, the author has to have it in front of his eyes (or actually, in front of his camera lens) ... This is an obstacle of the greatest importance. It is not a mistake to state that this defines the outcome of the struggle between painting and photography. This obstacle, in particular, 'allowed' painting in its historical development to detach itself from reality and to become 'aimless' and 'useless' and because of this develop into a 'mysterious' phenomenon.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Nikolai Chernyshevsky, *Esteticheskie otnosheniya iskusstva i deistvitel'nosti* (Moscow: OGIZ, 1948).

¹⁶⁹ Mezhericher, pp. 43-103 (p. 57).

¹⁷⁰ Leonid Volkov-Lanit, 'Za ob'ektivnost' ob'ektiva', *Novyi LEF*, No. 7, 1928, 41-43.

¹⁷¹ Mezhericher, 'K voprosu ob iskusstve i sovremennosti'.

The subjectivity of painting (which could develop into symbolic form) was opposed by the objectivity of photography, which according to the theoretician was ‘the most realistic and because of this the most materialist of all arts.’¹⁷²

Although he praised the mechanical realism of photography, Mezhericher perfectly understood some of its limitations. In his 1930 treatise, he wrote that photography ‘feels the burden of flat stillness and the colourlessness of its product; it is searching for dynamism and, during the search for it, is finding the method of contrasting comparisons.’¹⁷³ This notion was the basic principle of serial photography.

By 1931, *LEF*’s definition of factography had been discredited as formalism. *LEF*’s theory of fact was wrong and dangerous because it made a fetish of the ‘fact’ and took it out of the context of the dialectic development of reality. Nobody was interested in ‘separate episodes’ anymore; the slogan of the day was the ‘developing story’. Any form of fragmentation (which was interpreted as the legacy of formalism) had to be replaced by a dialectical unity, which led to the creation of a synthetic work of art.

Sergei Tretyakov had been a founder of the ‘literature of fact’, but by the early 1930s had discarded *LEF*’s version of factography and adopted the idea of describing the dialectical development of reality. He tried to apply this method to

¹⁷² Mezhericher, ‘K voprosu ob iskusstve i sovremennosti’, p. 87.

¹⁷³ Mezhericher, ‘K voprosu ob iskusstve i sovremennosti’, p. 103.

the photographic description of life on a collective farm.¹⁷⁴ He was also excited by the Filippov photo-story. Despite his critical remarks about empty trams and mistakes in captions, he regarded the *AIZ* series as the beginning of a new form of photography and of art. Tretyakov, a photographer himself, rejected the accidental character of the snapshot, which was unable to reveal the 'essential internal conflict.'¹⁷⁵ He explained, 'Snapshots are usually accidental. To give weight and general significance to an accidental gesture it is necessary to reinforce it either quantitatively or qualitatively.'¹⁷⁶ A photo series was an example of a quantitative way of reinforcing the image. A separate and/or accidental image had to be changed by being incorporated into a collection of images. Only this kind of combination could reflect the dialectic development of reality. Tretyakov believed that photography had two possibilities for the development of the synthetic art form: 'If an accidentally taken snapshot is no more than one very thin scale picked off from the surface of reality, serial photography and photomontage give us the chance to feel the substance of reality, and its true weight.'¹⁷⁷ Tretyakov demanded that photography express movement (both literally and figuratively). He considered it important to record the changes that were happening in the Soviet Union by means of the camera lens, which could document the visual contrast between yesterday, today and tomorrow: 'Such comparisons as the photographs of a village on the bank of a muddy river and one year later a building constructed of glass and concrete, raised on that very place - are

¹⁷⁴ Sergei Tret'yakov, *Tsyacha i odin trudoden* (Moscow: Sovetskaia literatura, 1934).

¹⁷⁵ Tret'yakov, *Tsyacha i odin trudoden*, p. 45.

¹⁷⁶ Tret'yakov, *Tsyacha i odin trudoden*.

¹⁷⁷ Tret'yakov, *Tsyacha i odin trudoden*.

striking.’¹⁷⁸ The theoretician called on photographers to develop a new method of ‘serial photography and long-term photo-observation.’¹⁷⁹

The individual photographic image was only one component of the photographic-series as a genre. Snapshots taken by photographers had to be placed within a narrative unity, itself created by the ‘montage’ or arrangement of a series of photographic images. Often a photograph included in a photo-story was supplemented by photomontage elements. Already in the Filippov series, such montage insertions had played an important role; the brigade at Soyuzfoto had used copies of different documents from store bills to the official certificate issued by the factory where Filippov's wife worked, proving that she had left her job of her own accord. Captions played an equally important role. The quote from Lenin’s decree, ‘to show not only films but also interesting photographs with corresponding captions’¹⁸⁰ justified the new enterprise and was repeated like a mantra on the pages of *The Proletarian Photograph*. Mezhericher wrote:

A certain law rules the interrelationship between a photograph and a caption, and it is not difficult to notice its dialectical character - a photograph has no meaning without a caption, just as a caption has no meaning without a photograph. One of them is ‘demonstrating,’ possessing the inherent tendency to emphasize a conclusion with the help of an image; the other, on the contrary, is ‘narrating’. In this struggle, when the inter-relationship between them is correct, they create a unity

¹⁷⁸ Tret’yakov, *Tsyacha i odin trudoden*’.

¹⁷⁹ Tret’yakov, *Tsyacha i odin trudoden*’.

¹⁸⁰ Mezhericher, ‘Seriinye foto - vysshaia stupen’ fotopropagandy’, p. 7.

and a synthetic perception. Maybe by moving in this direction, we can find the key to the correct construction of the form of the ‘corresponding caption.’¹⁸¹

According to Mezhericher, a caption was something in between a film’s inter-title and a ‘new genre of literature, original and not yet well researched.’¹⁸² He did not try to conceal the true roots of the ‘new highest stage of photo-propaganda’, which, of course, was to be found in cinema. ‘For real impact,’ he wrote, ‘a series has to have its integral “script” and its elements have to be connected in a montage fashion [*smontirovana*] just as the elements of a film are joined together. For a photo-story that develops in time (‘a history of something’), this problem is more easily solved, than it is for those series of images that are constructed according to the cycles of meaning.’¹⁸³

The plot of a photo-series could be constructed only by means of montage. In 1926, Viktor Shklovsky observed, ‘Just as a poet compiling a book of verses is using poems which have already been written, taking them not as complex formal conceptions, but as raw material, so the master of cinema is able to create a plot by montage. Cinema especially has to follow this path, because the original filmed material is invariable, it is deprived of artistic gesture. It is neutral because it is photographic, and photography (in general) has a constant relation to the

¹⁸¹ Mezhericher, ‘Seriinye foto - vysshaia stupen’ fotopropagandy’.

¹⁸² Mezhericher, ‘Seriinye foto - vysshaia stupen’ fotopropagandy’.

¹⁸³ Mezhericher, ‘Seriinye foto - vysshaia stupen’ fotopropagandy’.

material photographed.’¹⁸⁴ Four years later, photographers decided to follow the method he had recommended to film directors: photographers openly borrowed devices from the cinema and adopted them as their own.

Of course, Mezhericher did not invent the photo-series. He just gave serial photography new meaning and new tasks.

Michael Jennings, who correctly noticed the genesis of the photo-series in ‘the emergence of the photograph as the preferred mode of illustration in the modern mass media’, wrote that ‘it should perhaps come as no surprise that the photo-essay was first produced by a series of German photographers.’¹⁸⁵ It is difficult to establish who actually invented the genre, but undoubtedly Russian photographers started to develop these series at the same time as, if not earlier, than the Germans.

In his article about the Filippov series, Tretyakov correctly pointed out that the founding father of serial photography in Russia was Aleksandr Rodchenko. Tretyakov wrote: ‘It seems that in 1928 Rodchenko had already written about the necessity of constructing a portrait using the principle of combining different snapshots of the same person.’¹⁸⁶ In reality, Rodchenko not only wrote about the possibility of serial photography, but also practised it. According to Leonid Volkov-Lannit, the first photo-story was published by the artist in the magazine

¹⁸⁴ Viktor Shklovsky, *Eizenshtein. “Bronenosets Potemkin”* (Moscow: Kinopechat’, 1926), p. 5.

¹⁸⁵ Michael Jennings, ‘Agriculture, Industry, and the Birth of the Photo-Essay in the Late Weimar Republic’, *October*, 93 (2000), pp. 23–24.

¹⁸⁶ Tret’yakov, ‘Ot fotoserii’, p. 45. His statement, published in *Proletarskoe foto*, the magazine that attacked Rodchenko looked ironic, and could hardly have please Mezhericher.

Technology and Life [Tekhnika i zhizn] as early as 1924. It comprised a series of photographs made at the First Factory of Gosznak [the engraving office of the Soviet treasury] and was called *There, Where Money is Made*. In 1928 in the magazine *30 Days* [30 dnei] Rodchenko published photographic illustrations to Leonid Sayansky's essay 'The Newspaper'. This was Rodchenko's first venture into the field of photo illustration. According to Volkov-Lannit, 'photographs, connected through a well-composed plot created an expressive story about one ebullient day in the editorial office of the central newspaper.'¹⁸⁷ Rodchenko not only made photo-illustrations for Sayansky's essay, but also composed detailed captions for them, taking the first steps towards establishing 'the new genre of literature' that was later celebrated by Mezhericher.¹⁸⁸

In 1929, in the magazine *Give* [Daesh], Rodchenko published a photo-story dedicated to the AMO factory - the first producer of Soviet trucks. This series included eight photographs on separate sheets, which were designed according to the principles of cinema montage, and fourteen photographs that were printed within the text. This 'static film' contained two or four photographs placed on one magazine page. The contrasts between the images created elementary 'montage

¹⁸⁷ Leonid Volkov-Lannit, *Aleksandr Rodchenko. Risuet, fotografiruet, sporit*. (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1968), p. 122. Leah Dickerman wrote, 'Between 1929 and 1933, Rodchenko began to focus on photographing social phenomena, and on designing photo-stories for illustrated magazines'. See Leah Dickerman, 'The Propagandizing of Things', in *Aleksander Rodchenko* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1998), p. 81. Actually Rodchenko started to do it much earlier and continued to produce photo-stories much later than 1933 with work like the parade of athlete series of 1936 and the circus series of 1939-1940 produced for the *USSR in Construction*, but not published.

¹⁸⁸ For example: 'Daily tight packs of letters from all parts of the country are towering on the tables, and dozens of people are busy reading them,' or 'And this morning you are fixing your eyes on the fresh newspaper sheet which is full of news', Volkov-Lannit, *Aleksandr Rodchenko. Risuet, fotografiruet, sporit*, p. 122.

sentences', recalling the montage style of Dziga Vertov's *Cinema Truth* [*Kino Pravda*]. The combination on a single page of close-ups and general plans looked like a sequence of cinema stills - an enlarged image of a hand moving checkers was set beside a photograph of workers sitting in a factory club attentively reading newspapers and magazines (Figure 81). A close up of a foreman's face, produced with all the 'fortuitousness' of a snapshot was followed by an image of newly completed trucks, ready to leave the factory (Figure 82). In between these two 'montage sentences', Rodchenko placed a composition of four photographs depicting his beloved machines – close-ups of details of factory equipment, some cogs, wheels and crankshafts united in the image of the technical fetish (Figure 83). Leah Dickerman correctly noticed the 'fragmentation and anti-narrative quality of the AMO photo-story', and argues that 'the formal strategies particularly associated with photography (crop, sharp focus, fragmentation) stress the pictures' status as the *photographic* images, products of mechanical reproduction.'¹⁸⁹

The AMO photographs, however, betray qualities that belong more to the cinema than to the medium of photography; the snapshots act like film-stills, which only acquire meaning through the unity produced by montage. Rodchenko created a kind of still-film where the separate photographs have the quality of signs working in a 'semantic interrelation'.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁹ Dickerman, 'The Propagandizing of Things', p. 84. Unfortunately, the sequence of images reproduced and described in the catalogue omits one entire page (showing the workers' clubs) from the series.

¹⁹⁰ Tynyanov, 'Ob osnovakh kino', p. 329.

The AMO series was not the only photo-story that Rodchenko published in *Give*. Sometimes a photo series could be minimal - limited to just two images. For example, in issue ten for 1929 the artist published an expressive sequence of two photographs based on the principles of 'parallel montage' (contrast montage). The upper photograph depicted bells taken from Moscow churches lying in a scrap-metal yard. The lower image depicts rows of just turned details of machines, presumably made from the recycled metal of the bells (Figure 84). Such contrasts of 'old and new' later became a favourite device of makers of photo stories in particular and of Soviet propaganda in general. This passion for simplistic juxtapositions was developed by the cinematic avant-garde, and to some extent became the abbreviation of parallel montage reduced to its bare bones. This tendency was noticed by critics of the period.¹⁹¹

Rodchenko was not the only photographer who published mini photo-series in *Give*. The photographer Boris Ignatovich also produced a short photo-story *The Chicken Factory of the OGPU*¹⁹² which contained only four snapshots, and followed Rodchenko's trademark foreshortenings and 'snapshot' tactics (Figure 85). Dmitry Debabov was commissioned to make a photo series *Give Wire!* but chose a more traditional narrative strategy. As Rodchenko's mini photo-story appeared in issue ten, Debabov's series were dedicated to the utilization of the

¹⁹¹ Platon Krasnov, for example wrote: 'Vertov's intertitles are lyrical. But sometimes they are strongly reminiscent of quotations from Nietzsche. WE and THEY. The letters are enormous, like symbols. And this naïve juxtaposition: with US machines in the motion of labor, in a joyous dance, but with THEM people dancing the foxtrot...'. See Platon Krasnov, 'Sovetskoe kino', *Uchitel'skaya gazeta*, 5 February 1927.

¹⁹² The series was published in *Daesh*, No. 3, 1929. The chicken factory had to supply eggs and poultry to the staff of OGPU, the Soviet secret police.

church bells (Figure 86).¹⁹³ The story included four photographs, arranged chronologically, illustrating the process of wire production from recycled church bells. The right-hand upper photograph depicted a worker destroying a bell with a huge iron sledge hammer; below it smiling workers are examining splinters of the destroyed bell, which were decorated with images of saints. The upper left snapshot showed the process of melting the bronze, while the picture below showed two happy workers moving bundles of newly produced wire. The series were supplied with versified captions *à la* Mayakovsky, reminding the reader of the captions for the famous ROSTA windows.¹⁹⁴ In this way, the new radicalism of the period of the First Five-Year Plan appropriately borrowed the style of the most successful propaganda of the Civil War, the epoch of militant communism. Now, however, the reproduction of images by means of hand-cut stencils was discarded in favour of more sophisticated means of mechanical reproduction - photography. The narrative of the 'comic strip' of the civil war period cartoons was replaced by the photo-story.

Of course, the photo-series published in *Give* did not have the kind of detailed narrative introduced by Mezhericher; a few snapshots could hardly create the same effect as a developed photo-story, containing up to 100 photographs.

Nevertheless, these short photo-series were the precursors of the Filippov photo-

¹⁹³ The photo-story appeared in *Daesh*, No. 2, 1929.

¹⁹⁴ The captions were: '1) The mournful bell peal prevented us living a bright and sober life. 2) It (the bell) deafened a head with rumbling until its sides were broken. 3) We melted the nauseous groans of Great Lent into tons of copper. 4) The old holidays with vodka are going to hell! Give us a country with electric wire!' – *Daesh*, No. 12, 1929, p. 6.

story, and were based on the same principles borrowed from the practice of cinema.

The progress of the photo-story during the early 1930s took two main directions, which were identified by Mezhericher: first, the series ‘developing in time’ and secondly the thematic series deprived of linear narrative. The first proved to be more effective. The second was often characterised by an obsessive repetition of similar montage devices, as is found in the series *Theirs and Ours* [*U nikh i u nas*] produced by Soyuzfoto in 1932. It was praised by Mezhericher, ‘This is one of the sharpest topics of the revolutionary present - the striking contrast between the rotting capitalist world and the emerging socialism of the USSR. Here the power of the photo image manifests itself especially powerfully, because here every shot is also a document - the place and time of every event depicted is mentioned.’¹⁹⁵

Despite such compliments, the creators of the series did not demonstrate much inventiveness. Every sheet of *Theirs and Ours* was limited by the elementary ‘montage phrase’, which united two photographs depicting the happy life in the Soviet Union and the miserable condition of workers in the West.¹⁹⁶ The authors of the series simply appropriated different photographs from foreign illustrated magazines and contrasted them with images produced by Soyuzfoto. If ‘the place and time of every event depicted’ was mentioned, the actual authors of the photographs were not. The real creators of *Theirs and Ours* were not the photographers but the editors, who were responsible for the selection and montage

¹⁹⁵ Leonid Mezhericher, “‘U nikh i u nas”, fotootkrytki kak sredstvo bolshevistskoi informatsii’, *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 3, 1932, p. 11.

¹⁹⁶ The interpretation of the West was quite broad. Soyuzfoto used photographs depicting workers in countries as diverse as the United States, Germany, Hungary, etc.

of the images. Often they tried to exploit certain formal similarities between the sets of photographs employed. These were the most successful montages. For instance, an image of rows of American canons on Hawaii (defined in the caption as ‘a USA colony’¹⁹⁷) was contrasted with a photograph of a column of tractors at the Soviet Tokarevskaya Machine and Tractor Station on the way to the fields (Figure 87).¹⁹⁸ The radically different significance of the rows of machines, visually resembling each other, created a sharp ideological juxtaposition. Unfortunately, most of the comparisons were fairly banal. Unemployed workers, crowding in front of the shabby wooden gates at the Ford factory in Mexico City, were contrasted with happy workers leaving the gleaming modern building of the Nizhny Novgorod car factory at the end of their shift (Figure 88).¹⁹⁹ A snapshot of poor children in Budapest, gulping down leftovers given to them out of charity near the back door of a restaurant, was placed beside a photograph of clean, well-dressed boys and girls eating soup with appetite in dining hall No 33 of the Sokolniki district of Moscow (Figure 89).²⁰⁰ The sheet, entitled ‘The Master of the Street’, depicted a joyful demonstration during the celebrations of the anniversary of the October revolution in Moscow, while alongside was an image showing police brutality in New York; it was very obvious where proletarians

¹⁹⁷ ‘U nikh i u nas. Traktora na polyakh’, *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 3, 1932.

¹⁹⁸ In 1930 while describing Sergei Eisenstein’s film *The General Line*, Viktor Shklovsky ironically noticed that, ‘A tractor is as compromised in cinema as an image of the blood-thirsty white guard’. See Viktor Shklovsky, ‘Pogranichnaya Linya’, in *Za sorok let. Stat’i o kino* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1965), p. 110. By 1932 it was compromised in photography even more than in cinema. The image of a tractor as a symbol of modernity coming to backward rural areas became an overused cliché of Soviet visual propaganda.

¹⁹⁹ ‘U nikh i u nas. U zavodskih vorot’, *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 3, 1932, unpaginated.

²⁰⁰ ‘U nikh i u nas. Obschestvennoe pitanie detei’, *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 3, 1932, unpaginated.

were in charge (Figure 90).²⁰¹ The series were printed as post-cards, which were widely distributed.²⁰² This *tour de force* of Soyuzfoto proved that this kind of photo-series, based on the repetition of contrasting comparisons, is not very efficient propaganda. In fact, the repetition of the trick diminished the effect. Soyuzfoto did not discover the simplified contrast of parallel montage; the avant-garde cinema of the 1920s introduced it.²⁰³ Even so, the series further developed the practice of juxtaposing Soviet and Western 'reality', which remained a popular propaganda device until the demise of the Soviet Union.²⁰⁴

If the non-linear, topical photographic series proved to be not very efficient, the narrative photo-stories reached a high point of development. In many ways the flourishing of the narrative photo-series was connected with the magazine *USSR in Construction*. It was conceived initially in 1929 by Maxim Gorky as an illustrated supplement to the magazine *Our Achievements* [*Nashi dostizheniya*], which Gorky edited, but became an independent publication, lavishly printed on expensive paper. It was produced mainly for foreign circulation and was published in four languages: Russian, English, German, and French. The cover announced that it was 'A new type of magazine'. And it was. Gorky's idea was to

²⁰¹ 'U nikh i u nas. Khozyain ulitsy', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 3, 1932, unpaginated.

²⁰² Mezhericher, 'U nikh i u nas'.

²⁰³ Viktor Shklovsky noticed a passion for such simplistic oppositions in the films of Dziga Vertov. Analysing Vertov's film *A Sixth Part of the World* (1926) he wrote, 'As in the previous film of Vertov *Stride, Soviet!* the composition is limited to simple parallelism: 'before and now' or 'theirs and ours', - Viktor Shklovsky, 'Ikh nastoyashchee', in *Za sorok let. Stat'i o kino* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1965), p. 359.

²⁰⁴ The cliché title of articles, cartoons and composite photo works constantly published in the Soviet mass media was 'Two worlds, two systems'. At the beginning of Soviet Jewish emigration to Israel and the accompanying anti-Israeli propaganda, Moscow jokers started to call the Agitprop production of this sort 'Two worlds, two Shapiros'.

create a predominantly photographic magazine with a minimal quantity of texts. Indeed, one image was worth a thousand words in propaganda terms. However in the beginning in 1930-1931, the magazine focused its issues on broad topics, such as electrification, and did not embrace the narrative photo-series. At the beginning of 1931, *The Proletarian Photograph* [*Proletarskoe foto*] criticized the new magazine for its ‘inability to show the new man’, and accused it of ‘fetishizing the object’ [*veshchizm*].²⁰⁵ An anonymous author, signing himself with the initials Al. S.²⁰⁶ wrote:

The formalist interpretation of an object based on the notorious photogenic approach leads to the specific, ideologically impartial [*bezpartinuy*] depiction of objects. A whole social phenomenon is splintered into separate fragments. However, the illustration of important social phenomena demands their overall coverage. This applies to photographic information, especially in such magazines as *USSR in Construction*, which unlike the daily press must show not the separate ‘snapshots’ of construction, but provide a complex unity of photographic images. The task is to organize serial photography; the problem is to create photo-essays, photo-novels and photo-books, instead of photo-paragraphs, which are now insufficient. *USSR in Construction*, with its material and technical resources, could set itself the task of creating such photographic works about socialist construction. Unfortunately it isn’t doing this yet.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ Al. S., ‘SSSR na Stroike’, *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 2, 1931, p. 26.

²⁰⁶ Attacking an enterprise headed by the all-powerful Gorky could be dangerous.

²⁰⁷ S., ‘SSSR na Stroike’, p. 27.

The proletarian photographers' criticisms were heard. A year later, *USSR in Construction* published a photo-series called *The Giant and the Builder* [*Gigant i stroitel*], which provoked a heated discussion and eclipsed the Filippov photo-story. The series was produced by Maks Alpert, who had participated in the Filippov project and had strong credentials as a serial photographer. The photo-story was dedicated to a worker called Viktor Kalmykov, who left his village to participate in the construction of the Magnitogorsk metallurgical works started in 1929. At first sight, it looked as if Alpert's series had realized Sergei Tretyakov's dream of 'long-term photo-observation'. The transformation of Kalmykov from a village lad into a conscious proletarian was illustrated by images showing different stages of his life from the moment he boarded the train to Magnitka (as the Magnitogorsk metallurgical works were nicknamed at that time). Photographs showed Kalmykov at work and at rest, with a shovel and pick in his hands, at the school where his illiteracy was 'liquidated', at his wedding, and at the family dinner table. To produce such a photo-chronicle, Alpert had to follow Kalmykov day and night. But he did not: the series was staged and photographed in a few days. The Dziga Vertov-style approach of the Filippov series for *AIZ* was replaced by the Eisenstein style - a reconstruction of history.

Despite Alpert's attempts to recreate the past in all its details (the photographer used Kalmykov's old clothes and even his bast sandals), he made one mistake, which betrayed the fact that the story of the worker was staged. Photographing Kalmykov, Alpert did not notice that one of his fingers was bandaged. It remained bandaged in all the photographs of the series, which were supposed to represent

one and a half years of Kalmykov's life (Figure 91).²⁰⁸ This discrepancy was noticed and provoked a heated discussion. Many critics and photographers believed that Alpert had falsified the very principle of photo reportage - instead of recording the facts he had created a fiction.

Alpert tried to justify his method:

Kalmykov told us his biography; we recorded his tale in details. On the basis of these records, we started to develop the material.²⁰⁹ Very difficult work was waiting for us - it was necessary to determine the photo-footage²¹⁰ - that minimum of photographs which is necessary for the photo-essay. We indicated the main phases of his biography, so that later every photograph by itself could document the different stages of Kalmykov's development.²¹¹

He explained:

It was necessary to reconstruct in detail Kalmykov's first days of work in Magnitogorsk immediately after his arrival. I had to dress Kalmykov in those very clothes, which survived, and then we went to the railway station where I had to do some photo shooting. The work was arranged in

²⁰⁸ Leonid Mezhericher, 'Veshch' ogromnoi vospitatel'noi sily', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 7-8, 1932, pp. 9-10.

²⁰⁹ Alpert is talking here about production of the script of the series, which is comparable to a film script.

²¹⁰ Of course the photographer and his colleagues did not measure photographs by feet, or to be precise by meters (Russian equivalent of the word footage is 'metrazh'). Alpert is simply borrowing cinema terminology, even when it is hardly applicable to photography.

²¹¹ Maks Alpert, 'Sotsializm pereplavlyayet cheloveka', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 7-8, 1932, p. 8.

such a way that on one day I was shooting the episode²¹² at the railway station, and two or three days later - his studies; such 'jumping' shooting made the work more difficult. The later shots were taken without the participation of Kalmykov; it involved shooting the construction site and taking shots from an aeroplane.'²¹³

Defending his unorthodox approach to the notion of fact (the holy cow of the 1920s), Alpert stated that he did not believe that the series violated the laws of photographic reporting. 'I think, however, that the conviction that you can convey (i.e. photograph) only those things that you can see and that you cannot go any further by any means is conservative.'²¹⁴ Evidently, the myth of 'the objectivity of the photo lens' no longer had any appeal.

Mezhericher forgot his diatribes about 'the most realistic and ... the most materialist of all the arts', and tried to defend Alpert's 'reconstructive' method. For Mezhericher, the main question was whether Alpert's series is a 'dramatization of bad quality, or is it a dramatization, that is necessary and unavoidable and could be justified by the interests of Bolshevik photographic information?'²¹⁵ He saw these ideological interests answered by the 'method of

²¹² Another cinematic term.

²¹³ Al'pert, 'Sotsializm pereplavlyayet cheloveka', p. 8.

²¹⁴ Al'pert, 'Sotsializm pereplavlyayet cheloveka'.

²¹⁵ Mezhericher, 'Veshch' ogromnoi vospitatel'noi sily', p. 9.

reconstructing a fact,²¹⁶ which, he considered, did not deprive photography of its documentary essence:

If somebody is shocked that Kalmykov was taken to the railway station and asked to put on the bast sandals in which he arrived (or other, but similar); that he was seated on the bench of the carriage in which he arrived (or another, but similar) and this scene was shot, I am giving you my word that those people who read or will read this issue of *USSR in Construction*, will not lose, but gain in political growth.²¹⁷

Vladimir Grishanin, the deputy head of Soyuzfoto, who was responsible for the Department of Internal Photographic Information, compared the photo-series to a theatrical performance where the public has either to believe in the stage design representing a forest and a starry sky or leave the theatre. He remarked: ‘We have to proceed from the assumption that the magazine is read not by a photographic journalist, but by the mass reader, who if a thing is done well believes the author.’²¹⁸ In rejecting factography, Grishanin was more radical than Mezhericher. Grishanin believed (and was proved to be correct) that putting on old bast sandals did not represent the limit of possibilities for the method of reconstructing facts. ‘Once I expressed the thought that going back is impossible for a photographer. However, some moments could make such a turning back easier. If it is impossible to photograph the eruption of Vesuvius, which took place in 1912, if it

²¹⁶ Mezhericher, ‘Veshch’ ogromnoi vospitatel’noi sily’.

²¹⁷ Mezhericher, ‘Veshch’ ogromnoi vospitatel’noi sily’.

²¹⁸ Vladimir Grishanin, ‘Pravo poroektsii minuvshego’, *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 7-8, 1932, p. 14.

started to erupt again it would be possible to photograph it and to suggest that it allegedly happened in 1912.²¹⁹

Summing up the discussion about facts and fiction, Mezhericher rejected the method of long-term photographic observation, 'It is obvious that long term observation, the method that was proposed by the writer Sergei Tretyakov, is a lottery or an attempt to construct a house hoping to win 200 thousand roubles... Comrade Alpert did everything correctly.'²²⁰ Soviet photographers had no time to play the lottery and to wait for a prize. Results had to be achieved much more quickly. The aim justified the sacrifice of factography.

It is interesting to note that during the discussions, none of participants mentioned that the early photo-series (produced during the hay days of the fetishisation of fact) also had a tendency to employ some staged elements. Even such champions of photographic objectivity as Aleksandr Rodchenko occasionally relinquished their passion for facts in favour of striking shots. In his 1928 photo-series *The Newspaper* [*Gazeta*] dedicated to a day in the life of the editorial office of *Izvestiya*, one personage in the story, a secretary called aunt Polly, suspiciously resembled Varvara Stepanova (Figure 92).²²¹ Rodchenko's action in photographing his wife, posing as a secretary in the editorial office with a telephone receiver in her hand, was not very far from Alpert's 'reconstruction'

²¹⁹ Grishanin, 'Pravo poroektsii minuvshego'.

²²⁰ Mezhericher, 'Veshch' ogromnoi vospitatel'noi Sily'.

²²¹ Aleksandr Lvrent'ev, *Alexander Rodchenko: Photography 1924-1954* (Edison, N.J.: Knickerbocker Press, 1996), p. 208, ill. 272.

shot of Kalmykov dressed in a worn-out sheepskin. The difference lay in the scale of the staging and the almost theatrical character of this that was chosen by Alpert.²²²

Although ROPF and Soyuzfoto found Kalmykov's acting satisfactory and approved the method of reconstructing facts, they were critical of Alpert's directing talents.

Alpert had constructed his series as a linear narrative, based on the chronological principle. He had attempted to document in parallel both Kalmykov's personal development and the progress of building the Magnitogorsk metallurgical works. The story of the future conscientious worker and Communist Party member started with a photograph depicting the arrival in his village of recruiters from Magnitka. The story of Magnitka began with the image of a wooden bridge and village women washing linen on the very spot where the industrial giant of the First Five-Year Plan was soon to be constructed. The series published in *USSR in Construction* included twenty images of Kalmykov, eleven images of

²²² Not only Rodchenko, but his friend Dziga Vertov, who ideologically rejected cinema fiction and the use of actors committed little sins against factography. Their contemporaries noticed these deviations. In 1927 Viktor Shklovsky wrote, 'In the *Cinema Truth* [*Kino Pravda*] of Dziga Vertov, dedicated to radio, I noticed one of Vertov's assistants acting as a peasant.' See Viktor Shklovsky, 'Sergei Eizenshtein i neigrovaya fil'ma', *Novyi LEF*, No. 4, 1927, p. 34. Yuri Tsivian commented on the film director's 'crimes' against factography, 'bits and pieces of purpose-shot footage are easy to spot in most of Vertov's films. The method itself, Vertov seemed to believe, did not belie his unbending stand against the cinema of fiction (though many critics thought it did): apparently for him these were not falsifications of facts (the phrase he habitually used to condemn fiction), but something like factual re-enactments. A flimsy distinction, I agree, but I doubt if Vertov's cinema could ever have achieved its much admired flexibility had Vertov not settled for this little compromise with his own theory.' See Yuri Tsivian, 'Dziga Vertov and His Time', in *Lines of Resistance: Dziga Vertov and the Twenties*, ed. by Yuri Tsivian (Gemonia, Udine: Le Giornate del cinema muto, 2004), p. 15. However, in the case of Alpert, 'factual re-enactments' became the basis for the theory and not a deviation from it.

Magnitogorsk, fifteen portraits of managers and shock workers, one photograph of a crowd of national minorities who arrived for the opening of the metallurgical works, and six documents or texts (one of them written on a black-board, which means that it was 'reconstructed' for the photo shoot). During the discussion about the series in *The Proletarian Photograph*, the photographer Arkady Shaikhet compared *The Giant and the Builder* with the Filippov photo-story and observed, not without critical overtones, 'A simple thing was done: the brigade of photo reporters came to Filippov's home, sat down at the table with his family and composed a plan based on his description, of what he was doing during the week. From all of this, the most typical elements were selected, and an honest and truthful series of photographs constructed. The brigade made something like a cinema film [*kinofilm*] about how a Soviet worker lives today.'²²³

The cinematic qualities of Alpert's photo-story were much stronger than those of the Filippov series for *AIZ*. Alternating photographs of Kalmykov's life with shots of the construction of Magnitka and aerial views gave the series a truly cinematic quality (Figure 93). Space in *The Giant and the Builder* corresponds to the definition of cinematic space given by Adrian Piotrovsky:

In the cinema, 'space' is not something constant or based on a given reality. It is dynamic, it is explosive, and it is moving. A spectator, who, thanks to the technique of montage, has lost his place, has become dynamic too; he has the ability to observe any field of action from any point of view. For the cinema spectator, 'space' doesn't serve anymore as a customary association with different parts of the plot. It has stopped

²²³ Arkady Shaikhet, 'Zakonen li metod vostanovleniya fakta?', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 7-8, 1932, p. 11.

supporting the dramatic composition. It has turned into the outward appearance of geography, into the footage of nature. It enters the composition of a film as material on an equal footing with 'objects' and on an equal footing with 'people.' It is subordinate to the sequence of close-ups and long shots. It is becoming a 'function of montage' to a greater extent even than 'time.'²²⁴

Alpert actually employed all the devices mentioned by Piotrovsky. The viewer (and at the same time the reader) of the series saw Kalmykov and his colleagues in a barracks and then saw the barracks of the construction workers from an aeroplane. The photographer was clearly well informed about documentary films of the period and familiar with the works of Dziga Vertov, who used aerial footage in his film *The Sixth Part of the World*, 'and showed 'simultaneously a view of Leningrad shot from a plane, the plane itself, and a normal view of Leningrad shot from the ground.'²²⁵ Close-ups of human faces and construction tools alternated with long shots of construction sites and crowds. At the end of the series, the builder had become a giant - Kalmykov's figure and his enlarged face dominate the last two photomontages (Figures 94 - 95).

²²⁴ Piotrovsky, 'K Teorii kino-zhanrov', p. 149.

²²⁵ Leonid Sosnovsky, 'A Sixth Part of the World', in *Lines of Resistance: Dziga Vertov and the Twenties*, ed. by Yuri Tsivian (Gemonia, Udine: Le Giornate del cinema muto, 2004), p. 221.

Later Vertov used shots of a flying aeroplane combined with aerial footage as the opening for his film *The Eleventh Year* (*Odinadstatyi*) of 1928. Vertov's innovation soon became a cliché of modernist cinema, repeated by numerous film directors, including Leni Riefenstahl who recycled Vertov's opening device in her documentary *Triumph des Willens*, (*Triumph of the Will*) produced in 1935.

Alpert not only used devices borrowed from the cinema. During the discussion in *The Proletarian Photograph*, E. Zherebtsov complained, 'It was necessary to use photomontage, which in this series was not used completely. There is, to be sure, 'montage' there - a blast furnace and a portrait of builders in the background. But this montage is very primitive.'²²⁶ Actually, Zherebtsov was mistaken; this is not the only montage in the series. Sometimes Alpert followed the Filippov model. For example, a photograph of Kalmykov depositing his salary in the savings bank was supported with photo reproductions of his pay slips. The use of documents to reinforce the images in *The Giant and the Builder* is more creative than in the Fillipov series. Alpert usually placed them in the background. Kalmykov's application to join the Communist Party forms the background to the close-up of him and his pneumatic drill (Figure 96). The figure of the 'triumphant' worker who has attained his goal is placed against an article about him from the local newspaper (Figure 94). By 1932, such montage devices had become a cliché, constantly used in political posters by El Lissitzky, Rodchenko and many other artists, but it was new for the photo series.

Many of Alpert's photomontages were, to some extent, pastiches of various 'classical' works of the medium or exploited iconographies that, by that time, had become banal through frequent use. One of the pages of the magazine included four headshots and a photograph of a night landscape of the construction site, dominated by the tall chimneys of the furnaces (Figure 97). In the upper left-hand corner was a photograph of Sergo Ordzhonikidze, the People's Commissar of

²²⁶ E. Zherebtsov, 'Bolshe tvorcheskogo zamysla', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 7-8, 1932, p. 12.

Heavy Industry. A line connects the portrait of Ordzhonikidze with a portrait of Yakov Gugel, the construction chief at Magnitka. On the top of this line, which began at the corner of the portrait of the People's Commissar is a little image of a telephone and the word 'Moscow.' The line ends with an arrow pointing to Gugel and the word 'Magnitogorsk'. This naïve depiction of the telephonic communication between the all-powerful Ordzhonikidze and his subordinate recalls another representation of a phone conversation in Soviet photomontage. The image of a telephone and the diagonal line connecting two interlocutors bears an unmistakable resemblance to Rodchenko's illustration of for Mayakovsky's poem *About This* [*Pro eto*] of 1923. Rodchenko's montage visualized Mayakovsky's metaphor of jealousy crawling along the telephone cables, but Alpert's image is a simple graphic scheme. The montage that Zherebtsov criticized consisted simply of a photograph of furnace No 2, an aerial image of the furnace (both foreshortened), and portraits of shock workers (Figure 98). The rows of portraits were placed on the left and at the bottom of the composition. By the end of the 1920s, such 'galleries' of shock workers, political leaders, and military men had become a common feature of Soviet photomontage propaganda.

The Giant and the Builder represents a strange mixture of banal photomontage devices and creative borrowings from film montage. Nevertheless, many critics found its chronological narrative boring. Mezhericher, for example, wanted a more dynamic structure, 'A series, just like every artistic and literary work, in my opinion, has to possess an irregular and uneven development. It has to have high points and low points; it has to have leaps, it has to have 'exclamation marks',

punctuation marks, and borders. Its separate parts have to be transformed into separate complexes, interpreted as links in a chain.²²⁷ Zherebtsov also wanted more varied compositional devices. He was disappointed by the absence of parallel montage, which could have helped Alpert create contrasting oppositions, 'The principle of contrast has to be used. However, in the Klamykov series the device of contrast is 'too spread out'. By the time I reached the photograph of the furnace, I had already forgotten about the plot of land where the poor village stands. If the two images were placed together, it would still be engraved on our memory. Afterwards, you could tell about Kalmykov and show him at Magnitostroi. It is not necessary to start with a man travelling in a railway carriage.'²²⁸

Despite the compositional shortcomings of Alpert's photo-story, it was recognized as a significant step in the development of serial photography, opening up new perspectives for the genre. Grishanin was inspired to suggest that photo-illustrations could be used in fiction. He wanted to reduce the quantity of photographs included in a series, but improve their quality. In describing his idea, Grishanin couldn't avoid using cinematic terminology, 'Nobody has tried to make photographic illustrations for a big literary work. Take, for example, some contemporary novel, add to this novel twenty or thirty illustrations. Then, we would have open dramatization, something reminiscent of a photo-film. We have to find a few laconic stills, which should concentrate all the main points of the

²²⁷ Mezhericher, 'Veshch' ogromnoi vospitatel'noi Sily', p. 10.

²²⁸ Zherebtsov, 'Bolshe tvorcheskogo zamysla', p. 12.

literary work, leaving the cinema to show the same, but by unfolding a larger quantity of photographs.²²⁹

Grishanin's proposal was endorsed by Nikolai Voronin, who elevated the idea of the staged photograph to the level of 'photo-theatre':

Now Soviet masters of photography are creating series, photo-stories, which are covering substantial periods of time. The question about the permissibility of staging is provoking many discussions during the production of these series. It was discussed at the plenum of the Union of Workers in Photographic Publishing.

In the case of illustrating fiction, staging is necessary. And what is more, actors have to be involved in such staging. Shooting has to take place in the exact locations where the historical events took place. The colour of the epoch has to be properly reflected.

Of course, all of this is connected with enormous difficulties and with the spending of impressive sums of money, but in this case the end justifies the means. I believe that such an aim is great, and we will in a short time see the best creations of our masters of the word supplied with photographic designs.²³⁰

²²⁹ Grishanin, 'Pravo poroektsii minuvshogo', p. 15.

²³⁰ Nikolai Voronin, 'Za soyuz literatury i foto (V poriadke diskussii)', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 10, 1932, p. 20.

Neither Grishanin nor Voronin knew that they were re-discovering the wheel.

Photo-illustrations and photo-story books were a part of the early history of photography and had been frequently produced in France at the end of the nineteenth century. Soviet photo-series of the early 1930s became a by-product of the cinema, but the photo-stories of the Belle Epoch were its direct predecessor. Sergei Eisenstein remembered photo-albums that his father had purchased in Paris at the beginning of the century, which contained ‘photographs of well-known beauties posing’. In these albums, ‘a bit scabrous and very sentimental stories of the girls’ fates were developed into a sequence of photo-poses - the future cinema!’²³¹ Although Eisenstein correctly noticed the importance of late nineteenth-century photographic publications for film and for the formation of modernist photo/cinema montage,²³² the critics from Soyuzfoto were intent on propagating the forgotten past in which they saw a radical future. The idea of photo-illustrations for fiction, or photo-novels did not find many supporters. The photo-series continued to develop primarily as a genre of photo-reportage, influenced by the practice of the documentary cinema.

²³¹ Sergei Eizenshtein, ‘Wie sag’ ich’s meinem Kinde?!’, in *Memuary* (Moscow: Redaktsiya gazety “Trud”, Muzei kino, 1997), I, p. 93.

²³² Describing *Les e'tapes du vice* from the library of his mother Eisenstein wrote, ‘The book is interesting because it is full of photographs, such photo-illustrations which um die Jahrhundertwende (as Germans like to say) any edition of Maupassant, Colette and Will, Gide was full. Staged charmingly by its absurdity, they are showing those girls waiting for their ‘guests, showing them falling asleep in their poor attics after the ‘work’, showing them drinking morning chocolate, showing them during the toilette’. See Sergei Eizenshtein, ‘Istinye puti izobretaniya’, in *Memuary* (Moscow: Redaktsiya gazety “Trud”, Muzei kino, 1997), II, pp. 51–52. ‘From my early days I have loved the photo-illustrations of the 1900s. My papa had heaps of Paris photo albums. Especially many of them were connected to the World Exhibition in Paris of 1900. They were probably the first photomontages I held in my hands. The principle of these illustrations consisted of photographing the ‘separately’ posing figures and then gluing them together on the corresponding background. Sometimes the background was a photograph. Sometimes it was drawn’. Eizenshtein, ‘Istinye puti izobretaniya’, II, p. 52.

The heroes of the most successful photo-series of 1933 were not actors - they were the actual prisoners of the recently established Main Department of Camps [GULAG]²³³ of the OGPU (United State Political Department, as the Soviet secret police was renamed in November 1924). In issue 10 of *USSR in Construction*, Aleksandr Rodchenko published his photo-series dedicated to the construction of the White Sea-Baltic canal, the highly publicized social experiment of re-educating criminals and so-called 'enemies of the people' through labour. The construction of the canal marked the beginning of the Stalinist system of concentration camps and of an economy based on prison labour.²³⁴

For Rodchenko, the canal series became an engine of revenge. In 1932 he had been expelled from the photographic section of the October [*Oktyabr*] group, after being fiercely criticized by ROPF on the pages of *The Proletarian Photograph*. The very name of the artist became synonymous with that dangerous word 'formalism'. In such a situation, escaping to the canal was a smart move. In 1936, Rodchenko wrote, '1929-1930. I am leaving for the White Sea canal in a very bad mood ... It was a salvation, a new start in life. There my aim became clear, I was not afraid of abuse anymore, all badgering faded.'²³⁵ In contrast to Alpert, Rodchenko rarely reconstructed reality, usually just recording it. His method was much closer to 'the continuous photo-observation' proposed by Tretyakov.

²³³ GULAG was established in 1930.

²³⁴ Victor Margolin, following fashionable trends in American revisionist history of the USSR, tried to make a distinction between 'slave labor' and 'forced labor' in the Soviet concentration camps. It would be interesting to observe the public reaction if Dr. Margolin tried to apply this methodology to Auschwitz. See Margolin, *The Struggle for Utopia*.

²³⁵ Aleksandr Rodchenko, 'Perestroika khudozhnika', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 5-6, 1936, pp. 19-21. The chronology provided by Rodchenko in this article is shaky. The construction of the canal started not earlier than 1931, and was completed in one year and nine months.

Rodchenko visited the construction site three times and spent long periods in the White Sea-Baltic Camps [*Belbaltlag*] where the prisoners lived. Being practically the only permanent 'photo-observer' of one of the main projects of the First Five-Year Plan, Rodchenko tried to hide his assignment from his friends and his enemies.²³⁶ As a result of his three visits to the canal, Rodchenko got a real scoop, and newspapers and magazines competed for his photographs, although just a few months before he had been labelled a formalist. The canal shots made their way not only to newspapers. As Rodchenko himself proudly stated, 'three quarters of my work was used for a book about the White Sea Canal.'²³⁷ The book was important. It represented the 'collective work of thirty-six writers,' including Isaak Babel, Mikhail Zoshchenko, Vyacheslav Ivanov, Viktor Shklovsky and others, and was edited by Maxim Gorky and dedicated to the 17th Congress of the Bolshevik Party, the so-called 'congress of the victors.'²³⁸

Rodchenko's photographs filled a special issue of *USSR in Construction*, devoted entirely to the White Sea-Baltic Canal. It is revealing that the photographs were not commissioned by the magazine, but, on the contrary, the subject was actually proposed by Rodchenko who offered it to the journal. . Writing about the canal issue, Platon Krasnov, the editor-in-chief of *USSR in Construction*, observed, 'the

²³⁶ In a letter of 23 February 1933, from *Belbaltlag*, the artist warned his wife 'Don't tell anybody too much that I am at the White Sea canal'. See Aleksandr Rodchenko, *Opyty dlia budushchego. Dnevniki, stat'i, pis'ma, zapiski* (Moscow: Grant', 1996), p. 273. In another letter Rodchenko expressed his alarm at the arrival of a group of photographers who were accompanying officials coming for the celebratory opening of the canal. He wrote that he would meet the ship delivering the photographers at the wharf, photograph their arrival, and send the images to Stepanova to publish in the Moscow newspapers before the photographers could even return from their trip.

²³⁷ Rodchenko, *Opyty dlia budushchego*, p. 275.

²³⁸ *Belomorsko-Baltiisky kanal imeni Stalina. Istoriya stroitel'stva*, ed. by M. Gor'ky, L. Averbakh and S. Firin (Moscow: Gos. izdatel'stvo "Istoriya fabrik i zavodov," 1934).

artist Rodchenko is the author of the topic, the photographer and the designer.²³⁹

Unlike Alpert, Rodchenko did not focus his photo-story on one person. The true protagonists of the canal series are not the prisoners or guards, but the wooden admission dams. Unlike *The Giant and the Builder*, Rodchenko employed contrast montage intensively. The second sheet of the series comprised a juxtaposition of two images: an empty snow desert with the lonely figure of a geologist and a crowd of prisoners armed with hammers and pikes, all explained by the slogan 'Give water' (Figure 99). The wilderness of nature was metaphorically supported by the 'wilderness' of the people, drafted in to change it. A photomontage of drunken criminals, reminiscent of the picturesque tramps [*bosyaki*] from Gorky's early writings, was given the following caption, 'These were people at the bottom, people taken from the bottom. When they found themselves here, they thought that life is finished, but for them, real life was just beginning (Figure 100). Here not only the nature of the place but the nature of the people is changing – "former" people are transformed into workers.'²⁴⁰

Rodchenko put the inclined figures of the 'former' people on the black background. In the foreground is a close-up of a drunken criminal playing an accordion - there are no doubts that the scene is staged.

The second sheet of the magazine spread is a montage depicting prisoners on the way to re-education. It is printed in blue, and is dominated by the close-up of a worker with a pick, counterbalancing the drunken accordionist in the left-hand part of the spread. The figure of the worker gives the composition a strong vertical

²³⁹ Platon Krasnov, 'A. M. Rodchenko', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 7, 1936, p. 25.

²⁴⁰ *SSSR na Stroike*, No. 12, 1933, p. 4.

quality. In the series, Rodchenko constantly used his trademark foreshortened and aerial shots,²⁴¹ but balanced these with some frontal photographs, so that these ‘formalist’ devices look like logical elements in the photo-story. Unlike Alpert, Rodchenko employed photomontage intensively. Sixteen compositions of the series (including the cover and two spreads) are montages. Only eight are snapshots. Some of these montages reveal a new quality in Rodchenko’s work. For example, the compositions on pages 6 and 7, depicting prisoners digging the canal and exploding the rocks, recall, in their method, not the usual Rodchenko montages based on the destruction of linear perspective, contrast, and unconventional sizing of objects, but the French nineteenth-century photo-illustrations described by Eisenstein (Figure 101).²⁴² Like his *fin-de-siècle* predecessors, Rodchenko simply cut figures of different sizes from photographs and glued them onto a photographic background depicting a rocky terrain covered with snow. In this instance, the difference in sizes was not intended to create grotesque contrasts, but to mimic the perspectival foreshortening of objects and figures. This exercise in creating ‘a virtual reality’ produced the same effect as the attempts of his historical predecessors to populate views of the Paris World Exhibition of 1900 by using photographs of people: ‘it was distinctively visible that the light on them (the figures) did not correspond to the source of light, and that their gazes were not aiming at that point, towards which, according to the general design, they should have been looking.’²⁴³ It is interesting that these

²⁴¹ Of course his foreshortenings here are not as radical as in the famous photographs of young pioneers, which provoked the fierce attack of *ROPF* and cost Rodchenko his membership in the *October* group.

²⁴² See footnote 225.

²⁴³ Eizenshtein, ‘Istinye puti izobretaniya’, II, p. 52.

illusionistic photomontages, mimicking traditional photography, look like frontal shots practically deprived of foreshortening. The real photographs used in the series are more radical than these montage compositions.

Following the model established by the Filippov series, Rodchenko included texts. In contrast to the *AIZ* photo-story or to *The Giant and the Builder*, these texts are not documents, but slogans, signs, and information boards. They play an important role in signifying the different stages of the construction.

As already mentioned, the main hero of the series is the wooden admission dam to which nine montages and photographs (including the cover) are devoted. On pages 10-12, the dam is depicted three times. In the first photograph it is just scaffolding; the dam is empty and covered with snow (Figure 102). In the lower left-hand corner, the artist placed a close-up of the face of an OGPU guard dressed in a heavy sheepskin. The second composition depicts the same dam being built; it is now full of the ant-like figures of workers (Figure 103). In the foreground is a blown up figure of a prisoner bent over, ready to hammer in a wedge. Two of the compositions are montages, the third is a snapshot constructed on the same principle. In the foreground are two musicians from the camp brass band in close-up; behind them is the dam full of workers. What used to be achieved by manipulating images is now being produced by means of straight photography. This nearly classical device of unity of place, time, and action was not used by Rodchenko throughout the whole series but in the two culminating images of its plot: the construction of the dam and the end of the story. The last

four compositions of the series show the same dam completed. It is now free of people except for the OGPU officers and the construction-site managers, who are inspecting the dam from a boat (Figure 104). The final image is a montage, consisting of two elements - a photograph of the dam and an image of Stalin, Voroshilov and Kirov at the White Sea-Baltic canal (Figure 105). The last composition links back to the first page of the photo story, which is a montage depicting Stalin against a broad surface of water, reflecting the rays of sun (Figure 106). Water, which is another aim of the project and is constantly mentioned in the slogans carried by the prisoners, finally appears with this spectacular, cinematic, and one might say operatic finale, marking the end of the series. Ultimately, both aims are achieved; both the harsh nature of the North and the nature of these 'former' people have been transformed.

Krasnov, the-editor-in chief of *USSR in Construction* correctly observed the cinematic qualities of Rodchenko's photo-series, which corresponded to Mezhericher's *desiderata* expressed during the discussion about *The Giant and the Builder*, i.e. the use of contrast montage and a dramatic plot. According to Krasnov, the White Sea-Baltic Canal series turned into 'an exciting photo-film about a great construction and the re-education of people.'²⁴⁴

It is obvious that the emergence of the genre of the photo-series at the beginning of the 1930s was mainly provoked by official attention to printed propaganda and the development of Soviet graphic art. Even so, from the very beginning, the

²⁴⁴ Krasnov, 'A. M. Rodchenko', p. 26.

photo-series tried to escape the pages of the magazine and become more than a '*cinema paupera*' printed on paper. The question of how to present photo stories was widely discussed by both photographers and theoreticians. In 1932, Mezhericher called for a reform of 'bourgeois post-cards' and sought to publish the photo-series in a post-card format.²⁴⁵ According to Semen Evgenov, 'our selections of photographs of parades and demonstrations, in a rough blue folder made of leatherette, with a circulation of 15-20 copies,' were treated by contemporaries as, 'a wonder of efficiency.'²⁴⁶ Such limited circulation couldn't compete with illustrated magazines. Numerous attempts were made to exhibit photo series in shop windows in town and city centres, or in specially designed display cases during public holidays like 7 November or May Day.²⁴⁷

The most radical step taken to change the nature of the photo-series was not achieved by printing postcards, but by projecting the photographs onto buildings. It is difficult to say when and by whom this new approach was introduced, but the first massive public demonstration of photographic projection took place in November 1931 in Ivanovo-Voznesensk. That year the local Soyuzfoto organized, with the support of the city council and the local newspaper *Workers' Region* [*Rabochy krai*], an impressive photographic exhibition, which was displayed not in an exhibition hall, but on all the central streets and squares of the city.²⁴⁸

Kaspersky, the editor-in-chief of *Workers' Region* actually had the idea of

²⁴⁵ Mezhericher, 'U nikh i u nas', p. 11.

²⁴⁶ Semen Evgenov, 'Vspominaya dalekie gody', in *Fotozhurnalist i vremya* (Moscow: Planeta, 1975), p. 111.

²⁴⁷ Evgenov, '1 Maya', pp. 8–10.; and Pitsersky, 'Foto v Leningrade v Oktyabrskie dni', pp. 22–23.

²⁴⁸ Evgenov, '1 Maya', p. 10.

presenting photographs in this new way.²⁴⁹ The ‘exhibition space’ stretched for three kilometres, and the show included not only photographic prints but also photographic-projections. The local branch of Soyuzfoto produced more than one hundred lantern-slides which were shown during the day in specially produced light boxes and in the evening were projected onto the façade of the city hall (Figures 107-108).

The curators of the exhibition organized these projection displays on the cinematic principle of alternating slides with inter-titles, in this case, quotes from verses by Mayakovsky and local revolutionary poets.²⁵⁰

The experience of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk exhibition stimulated a more general discussion about the possibilities of photographic projection. N. Safronov declared on the pages of *The Proletarian Photograph*:

It is essential to implement by all means available to Soviet photography, Lenin’s suggestion that “it is necessary to show not only films, but also interesting photographs with corresponding captions”. Because of this, it is extremely important to take into consideration all possibilities of displaying photographs on screens by projection through magic lanterns and statoscopes. It is vital to create artistic, propaganda and news photo-films. They have to be shown on cinema screens. Our cinema houses will

²⁴⁹ N. Sofronov, ‘Vynesem foto na ulitsy i ploschadi gorodov i kolkhozov’, *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 1, 1932, p. 23.

²⁵⁰ Sofronov, ‘Vynesem foto na ulitsy i ploschadi gorodov i kolkhozov’.

only win if they start to display, before the beginning of every showing of a film, sequences of recent news photographs for five to seven minutes.²⁵¹

Safronov argued that photography could replace film, where film, because of technical difficulties, couldn't yet operate easily. He believed that photographic-films could be produced in factories and on collective farms and could be shown almost immediately, even that very same day. He praised the speed of the photographic process and called on commercial film distributors to start showing photo-news films of current events in the Soviet Union and abroad. Some of the suggestions put forward by this fierce propagandist of photographic-projection sound a bit fantastic. Safronov, for example, believed that it was essential to establish special 'photo-cinemas' which would only show photo-films²⁵² and he dreamed about 'the use of micro-photography, teleography, x-ray photography and other types of photographic shots for the purposes of photo-propaganda.'²⁵³

The Ivanovo-Voznesensk exhibition and Safronov's ideas rapidly found support within the bureaucracy of Soyuzfoto. The production of so-called *light newspapers* had begun in 1929-1930.²⁵⁴ It was a strange technological offshoot of the traditional Soviet wall newspaper, in which the newspaper was projected onto a screen. ROPF, like *LEF*, supported amateur photographers, and this was regarded as a highly important ideological task. The Party regarded worker

²⁵¹ Sofronov, 'Vynesem foto na ulitsy i ploschadi gorodov i kolkhozov', p. 24.

²⁵² Sofronov, 'Vynesem foto na ulitsy i ploschadi gorodov i kolkhozov'.

²⁵³ Sofronov, 'Vynesem foto na ulitsy i ploschadi gorodov i kolkhozov', p. 25.

²⁵⁴ Evgenov, '1 Maya', p. 112.

correspondents [*Rabkors-rabochie korrespondenty*] as the avant-garde of the ideological struggle. The medium of photo-projection was perfect both for showing photo-stories produced by professionals like Alpert or Rodchenko and for creating local ‘light newspapers’. Very rapidly, ‘light newspapers’ became extremely popular all around the country and led to the creation of strange hybrid media.

Already in 1929, two years before the Ivanovo-Voznesensk exhibition, Georgy Boltyansky had written:

A very interesting new type of product, which has started to develop during the past year, is the light-newspaper. The light-newspaper consists of a series of lantern-slides produced by a photographic studio, covering the same topics and materials as documentary photography, such as everyday life, a club, a factory or an office, which are produced for wall newspapers or photo-newspapers. Showing them through a magic lantern transforms this type of work into a particular kind of mass spectacle. Very often light-newspapers are included in a review - a form of club activity - which is collectively produced by a chorus, a theatre studio, and others. At such reviews, light-newspapers are shown during the intervals. Such theatrical ramifications of the light-newspaper make it an attractive medium, which is able to exert a strong influence on the psyche of the spectators.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁵ Georgy Boltyansky, *Foto-kruzhok za rabotoi* (Moscow: Aktsionernoe izdatel'skoe obshchestvo "Ogonek," 1929), p. 32.

A year later, in 1930, the magazine *The Soviet Photograph* [*Sovetskoe foto*] published a handbook of instructions about how to produce light-newspapers.²⁵⁶ Stressing the differences between the light-newspaper and films, the author wrote, ‘The main factor in the light-newspaper influencing the spectator is the photographic image, projected onto a screen.’ He added, ‘If in the cinema the main factor influencing the viewer is movement, in the light-newspaper, where the image is static, the main role is played by the following factors: the effective organization of the display of lantern-slides, the expressivity of the text, and the skilful connection between it and the images.’²⁵⁷ The handbook provided both illustrations of, and sample scripts for, light-newspapers. Probably the best was the light-newspaper ‘The summer campaign of Baltic Fleet in 1929’ produced by the photo-studio of the House of the Red Army and the Fleet at Kronstadt (Figure 109). The alternation between foreshortenings, close-ups, and inter-titles gave the work a truly cinematic aura. It is interesting that the creators of the newspaper even recycled some elements from Eisenstein’s *Battleship Potemkin*. The famous sequence of images and titles ‘They are coming!’, depicting the moment when the rebellious sailors were waiting to fight the Tsarist fleet, was adapted by the photo amateurs of the Kronstadt studio into the opening of their light-newspaper: ‘Inter-title: ‘No?’ Image: A red sailor is scrutinizing the horizon. The surface of the sea. Inter-title: ‘No?’ Image: stills of the open sea. Inter-title: ‘No ice!’ Image: The same. The red sailor is screaming into a megaphone.’²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ N. D. Petrov, *Svetovaya gazeta i diapozitivny dlya nee* (Moscow: Aktsionernoe izdatel'skoe obshchestvo “Ogonek,” 1930).

²⁵⁷ Petrov, *Svetovaya gazeta i diapozitivny dlya nee*, p. 5.

²⁵⁸ Petrov, *Svetovaya gazeta i diapozitivny dlya nee*, p. 9.

Cross-fertilisation between the form of the light-newspaper and the narrative qualities of the photo series led to the creation of the photo-film. The new medium was doomed to have a short life. Photo projection on the screen with inter-titles, often performed with musical accompaniment became a strange, static version of the cinema. This attempt of photography to compete with cinema was doomed to failure. The fashion for photo-film developed at the very moment when sound started to be introduced into film production. For a short time, photography overcame its lexis, growing to the size of the movie screen. It got its fixed duration (being projected for fifteen to twenty seconds, according to the handbook) and acquired music, but in contrast to silent film, it was not only mute, but also motionless. Photo-film was destined to disappear by the mid-1930s. The narrative photo-series survived it by a few years, and then transformed itself into the less linear photo-reportage. If cinema, which was ‘essentially a “pictorial” art by nature, acquired the possibility of unfolding in time and proved to be out of competition, out of classification and without analogy,’²⁵⁹ photography failed in its attempt to turn itself into a temporal art - it remained what it was - the medium for the mechanical reproduction of still images.

EPILOG

The peculiar idea of the light projection of photographic images, which had apparently died out by the end of the 1930s, was unexpectedly revived during the Second World War. At the front, some activists of the grassroots light-newspapers

²⁵⁹ Boris Eikhenbaum, ‘Problemy kino-stilistiki’, in *Poetika kino* (Moscow, Leningrad: Kinopechat’, 1927), p. 15.

remembered their peacetime experiments. . On 1 January 1943, the newspaper *Literature and Art* [*Literatura i iskusstvo*] proudly reported about slide films [*diafilm*] produced in the trenches by a certain private Shchepkin: ‘Owning no film camera, comrade Shchepkin makes photographs with a photographic camera *FED*.²⁶⁰ But, as is generally known, a photographic still is larger than a film still. [...] For photofilm it is necessary to shoot in a way so that every snapshot will be equal in size to a film still. [...] The experienced photographer Shchepkin found a solution to this problem.’²⁶¹ The problem of subtitles was solved too. Shchepkin managed by ‘cutting them out from white cardboard, put them on black velvet and photographed them with the *FED* (camera) moving on a hinge up and down.’²⁶²

Private Shchepkin was not the only person who remembered about the forgotten medium of the light projection of photo images.

The mainstream propaganda outlet of the TASS Windows, a branch of the Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union [TASS] involved from the first days of the war in the production of stencilled posters also became interested in disseminating propaganda with the help of light projection. Special ‘light bulletins’ produced by TASS Windows included images of conventional graphic posters mixed with news photographs from the front lines supplied by the agency’s photographic

²⁶⁰ *FED* was popular Soviet photo camera produced from 1934 by the Kharkov Labour Commune named after Felix Edmundovich Dzerzhinsky. The ‘labour commune’ was a euphemism for a reformatory for young delinquents. The name of the camera is the abbreviation of the name of Felix Dzerzhinsky, the head of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, Lenin’s secret police. *FED* was a copy of the popular German camera Leica II.

²⁶¹ ‘Fil’m y krasnoarmeitsa Shchepkina’, *Literatura i Iskusstvo*, No. 1, 1 January 1941.

²⁶² ‘Fil’m y krasnoarmeitsa Shchepkina’.

department [*Fotokhronika* TASS]. The distribution of such light propaganda, for which specially designed light boxes were used as projectors, was impressive.²⁶³

By 1944, the production of light bulletins was abandoned, although the end of the war did not mean the end of the light projection of static images.

The slide film, which originated as part of a grass-roots campaign, backed by the theoreticians of Soviet photography in the 1930s and became an important tool of wartime propaganda, enjoyed a long life. In the 1950s, the Moscow studio *Diafilm* started mass producing this type of films. While some of these were educational or propagandistic, the majority, featuring static cartoons based on fairy tales and children's classics, became popular forms of entertainment. By the 1960s such slide films employing photographic images were rarely produced. The Soviet *Laterna Magica* returned to the standards of the nineteenth-century. Images of funny animals, rather than photographs of the heroes of socialist labour, tended to be projected onto screens, made of bed-sheets in Soviet apartments.

Soviet production of slide films ended in 1991 with the demise of the Soviet Union itself. The victory of capitalism and the arrival of affordable VCRs heralded the final victory of motion pictures.

²⁶³ Akinsha, "“Painting Went Out into the Street”: The War of Images along the Eastern Front’, pp. 142–144.

Chapter 3. Photomontage as a Photographic Picture

In 1928, *The Soviet Photograph* published a series of articles by Nikolai Troshin entitled ‘The Paths of Photographic Culture’.²⁶⁴ As a young poster artist, who had trained as a painter at the VKhUTEMAS under Ilya Mashkov, Troshin offered his version of the slogan ‘learn from the classics’, which had been coined by Maxim Gorky²⁶⁵ and was already being employed by the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers [RAPP] in its efforts to establish an assembly line production of proletarian writers.²⁶⁶ Troshin believed that, ‘A photographer, researching the

²⁶⁴ Nikolai Troshin, ‘Puti foto-kul’turny. Ocherk pervyi. Zhivopis’ i fotografiya’, *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 1, 1928, pp. 10–13.; Nikolai Troshin, ‘Puti foto-kul’turny. Ocherk vtoroi. Svet i fotografiya’, *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 2, 1928, pp. 50–55.; Nikolai Troshin, ‘Puti foto-kul’turny. Ocherk trety. Ton i fotografiya’, *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 3, 1928, pp. 104–107.; Nikolai Troshin, ‘Puti foto-kul’turny. Ocherk chetvertyi. Ob’em i fotografiya’, *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 4, 1928, pp. 156–160.; Nikolai Troshin, ‘Puti foto-kul’turny. Ocherk pyaty. Prostranstvo i fotografiya’, *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 5, 1928, pp. 203–207.; Nikolai Troshin, ‘Puti foto-kul’turny. Ocherk shestoi. Kompozitsiya i fotografiya’, *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 8, 1928, pp. 338–345. According to Evgeny Piskun, Troshin was introduced to Viktor Mikulin, the editor-en-chief of *Sovetskoe foto* by Mikhail Kol’tsov, the well-known journalist and all-powerful founder of the magazine *Ogoniok* and director of the publishing trust of the same name – Evgeny Piskun, *Nikolai Troshin*. Evgeny Piskun, *Nikolai Troshin* - <http://tululu.ru/read15058/1/> One year later the book of Troshin *The Foundations of Composition in Photography* was published by Ogoniok publishing house.

²⁶⁵ Gorky’s Call ‘to learn from classics’ was formulated in his book addressed to future proletarian writers – workers, peasants and military correspondents. See Maksim Gor’ky, *Rabsel’koram i voenkoram: O tom, kak ya uchilsya pisat’* (Moscow: GIZ, 1928).

Viktor Shklovsky, who reviewed the book for *Novyi LEF*, defined it as, ‘an attempt to write a mass manual on the theory of literature.’ Shklovsky did not spare sarcastic remarks about mistakes made by the maître of the Soviet letters, but for him, the main problem was Gorky’s appeal to ‘learn from the classics’. He wrote, ‘The main point of dispute is the question of learning from the classics. We consider that it is necessary to study culture, but not to take lessons from it. The problem is not that we have to construct the old culture, but that we have to construct a new one and it is impossible to learn from it.

The idea that it is possible to learn from the classics is based on the notion that old artistic forms do not change and retain their relevance. Such an idea is mistaken. It is impossible to oppose Pushkin to Aseev, because Aseev is a relevant writer and Pushkin is completely irrelevant. A person who today raves about Pushkin is like a night watchman from Oblomov’s village. That night watchman on Friday was eating the remains of his masters’ pie.’ – Viktor Shklovsky, ‘Novootkrytyi Pushkin. (M. Gor’ky. Rabsel’koram i voenkoram. O tom kak ya uchilsya pisat’’. Giz, 1928 G.)’, *Novyi LEF*, No. 11, 1928, p. 47.

²⁶⁶ See Evgeny Dobrenko, *The Making of the State Writer: Social and Aesthetic Origins of Soviet Literary Culture* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 305–313.

history of art of all times and peoples, can find different solutions to important problems concerning the treatment of the image offered by artists' and that a 'photographer can find different ways of interpreting the real world in the works of old and new masters.'²⁶⁷

His six essays were dedicated to the relationship between photography and painting and were illustrated with works by Michelangelo, Botticelli, Rembrandt and Monet. Troshin analysed a variety of formal problems from the use of light to composition. His main idea was that it was essential to establish a new genre, the 'photographic picture', to ensure the high art status of the mechanical medium. He dreamed that, 'The photographic picture will become the new type of art, more democratic, and more accessible to people than easel painting.'²⁶⁸ A year later, Troshin published a book *The Foundations of Composition in Photography*²⁶⁹ in which he developed his theory further.

Troshin did not want photographers just to imitate painting. He stressed the difference between the fine arts and photography, 'The artist-painter looks at a model, at nature and then creatively reworks it in his mind and afterwards depicts it on canvas. He needs nature only to create images and uses such images to say those things he wants to say to people.'²⁷⁰ A photographer, however, is not able to rework an image in any way he wishes. Troshin stressed, 'In photography the

²⁶⁷ Troshin, 'Puti foto-kul'tury. Ocherk pervyi. Zhivopis' i fotografiya', p. 10.

²⁶⁸ Troshin, 'Puti foto-kul'tury. Ocherk pervyi. Zhivopis' i fotografiya'.

²⁶⁹ Nikolai Troshin, *Osnovy kompozitsii v fotografii* (Moscow: Aktsionernoe izdatel'skoe obshchestvo "Ogonek," 1929).

²⁷⁰ Troshin, *Osnovy kompozitsii v fotografii*, p. 106.

process is completely different. There objects and nature draws themselves by themselves; an image emerges according to the known laws of physics and chemistry, and a photographer acts as a mediator between the visible world and the image in the same way as a musician or a singer also acts as a mediator when performing a piece by Beethoven or a folk song.²⁷¹ The crucial point is how a photographer ‘mediates’ reality. For Troshin, ‘Photography is an art, and such a status entails certain obligations. It involves joining the ranks of the visual arts as a new type of image, as cinema did in connection with theatre. Photographers are facing the task of creating the photographic picture.’²⁷² According to the theoretician, this could be developed in two directions. The first is the snapshot, which is an instantaneous fixation of reality. Of course, this approach was already used for photographic reports, but Troshin believed that it could be employed in artistic photography, ‘If an artist-painter, because of the condition of his work, has to force a model to pose in a certain position ... the photographer doesn’t have to do this. In this respect, he is much freer than the artist – because of the instantaneousness of shooting, he can show faces and figures with the lovely and natural expression they have in real life. In this instance, photography is filling a gap in the visual arts, doing those things that painting and even the fast sketch drawing of an artist are unable to do.’²⁷³ Troshin’s description of this method of creating a photographic picture remained quite vague, but he analysed the second possibility in much greater detail. He explained, ‘Another way of creating a photographic picture is staging,’ but this has to become a creative process, which

²⁷¹ Troshin, *Osnovy kompozitsii v fotografii*.

²⁷² Troshin, *Osnovy Kompozitsii v Fotografii*, p. 107.

²⁷³ Troshin, *Osnovy Kompozitsii v Fotografii*, p. 108.

involved selecting appropriate types, poses and surroundings. The models chosen for this purpose had to be real actors ‘playing’ for the photographer.²⁷⁴ For the photographer/artist/director, the task of staging is ‘to avoid the accidental’ and to produce ‘powerful works dictated by the creative will of the artist.’²⁷⁵ The new photographer-artist envisioned by Troshin had to become the director of his own works - such directing required a profound knowledge of life, psychology, and human relationships. There was also the issue of subject matter or what the photographer-artist would direct.

Troshin explained, ‘Sometimes, an artist can produce a picture practically without a subject, by focusing on a particular visual problem, but this is not possible for a photographer because of the specificity of his technique for creating an image.’²⁷⁶ He believed that photography couldn’t be non-figurative, ‘For a photographer, the absence of subject matter is practically impossible. For him a ‘type’ is essential because of the characteristics of the image, produced by photography. Because of this, the choice of subject and the selection of types in many ways will define the value of photographic picture.’²⁷⁷

Troshin did not believe that photographers could produce ‘historical’ photographic pictures. In his tract, which represented a peculiar blend of Constructivist ideas and conservative historicism, he expressed the same disdain

²⁷⁴ Troshin, *Osnovy kompozitsii v fotografii*.

²⁷⁵ Troshin, *Osnovy kompozitsii v fotografii*.

²⁷⁶ Troshin, *Osnovy kompozitsii v fotografii*, p. 109.

²⁷⁷ Troshin, *Osnovy kompozitsii v fotografii*.

as *LEF* for realist canvases dedicated to the events of October 1917 produced by the Association of the Artists of Revolutionary Russia [AKhRR]. For Troshin, ‘Many of these paintings are not worth one documentary photograph reflecting reality.’²⁷⁸ He did not consider the possibility of a grand staging of historic events for the photographic picture. The only way to achieve it would be to stage, ‘a crowd scene, like in the cinema.’ It was hardly possible for any photographer to organize such a dramatization. It was not even necessary. ‘In front of the eyes of the photographer-artist are numerous subjects belonging to his time, which he can employ with the same success to demonstrate revolutionary zeal in the everyday life surrounding him.’²⁷⁹

Troshin’s vision was ambitious – the new art of photographic pictures had to spread around the country. The theoretician envisioned such pictures as large-scale prints of monumental dimensions. He believed that, ‘A large scale will make a piece clear and legible, because vagueness and blur would become more apparent and make the image produce an unfavourable impression.’²⁸⁰ The theoretician dreamed that the new genre would become as important as the radio or cinema. The ease of reproducing photographs meant that they could become available to most people. Unlike painting, photography would also be able to liberate itself from the market fetishism of the original; ‘it will be multiplied [...]

²⁷⁸ Troshin, *Osnovy kompozitsii v fotografii*.

²⁷⁹ Troshin, *Osnovy kompozitsii v fotografii*.

²⁸⁰ Troshin, *Osnovy kompozitsii v fotografii*, p. 110.

without any reduction in quality and without the value of the original, i.e. the vintage print.²⁸¹

Troshin sometimes contradicts himself. He asserts that, as a truly ‘democratic art’, the photographic picture will have no ‘museum character and will only be exhibited in a few places, opened for visitors during certain hours, but will be everywhere in our life – in clubs, in huts – reading rooms, and all public places.’²⁸² Yet he also advocated ‘the establishment of museums of “photographic culture” which will have an experimental character, like the museums of artistic culture²⁸³ in different cities and villages.’²⁸⁴ Unlike the museums of avant-garde painting, the new museums of photography had to be identical and display the same photographic pictures on the walls.

Troshin’s demand for the creation of a new grand and democratic art was heard; his articles in *Sovetskoe foto* provoked an avalanche of letters.²⁸⁵ The 31-year-old poster artist immediately became a celebrity. In 1930 he was appointed the artist-in-chief of the newly established ambitious illustrated magazine *USSR in Construction*. He worked there for 11 years and designed 45 issues.²⁸⁶ He

²⁸¹ Troshin, *Osnovy kompozitsii v fotografii*, p. 111.

²⁸² Troshin, *Osnovy kompozitsii v fotografii*.

²⁸³ Troshin refers to the Museum of Artistic Culture (MKhK) in Petrograd-Leningrad, which was functioning in 1921-1926 and the Museum of Painterly Culture (MZhK) which was functioning in Moscow in 1919 – 1929. These two central museums had to distribute avant-garde works to the provincial museums and art schools.

²⁸⁴ Troshin, *Osnovy kompozitsii v fotografii*, p. 111.

²⁸⁵ Evgeny Piskun, *Nikolai Troshin*.

²⁸⁶ Erika Wolf, ‘Appendix G. Issues of SSSR na Stroike Designed by Nikolai Troshin’, in *USSR in Construction: From Avant-garde to Socialist Realist Practice* (Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Michigan, 1998), pp. 274–275.

collaborated with figures like Rodchenko, Stepanova, and El Lissitzky, but never returned to the theory of the photographic picture. Instead, Troshin created a photographic magazine. He recalled, 'The main element of the magazine was its composition. I applied the 'sequence of stills' principle, i.e. the idea of movement in developing the plot. For this I drew all the pages of the magazine, spread by spread, and created from them a ribbon which could be wholly visible.'²⁸⁷ He did not succeed in turning photography into painting's rival, but he did transform the magazine into the simulation of a film.

Troshin's theoretical *tour de force* reflected certain aspects of Constructivist thought. He believed in the Taylorist rationality of photography, which produced visual images by economic and technological means better and faster than painting could do it. He dreamed about equality between the new and old visual arts, and also about competition between them, hoping that museums of photographic culture would spring up in Soviet villages like mushrooms do after the rain. However, Troshin also abandoned two fundamental principles of Constructivist photographic theory: factography and the rejection of art. He considered factography to be just one possibility for the development of the photographic picture. The idea of the naked truth of a snapshot was less significant for him than complicated staging and the search for generalized types symbolizing the revolutionary *Zeitgeist*. He also wanted photography to be accepted as art. While the Constructivists rejected the very concept of art, Troshin wanted photography to be treated as the equal of painting.

²⁸⁷ Quoted in Evgeny Piskun, *Nikolai Troshin*.

Despite its Constructivist clichés, Troshin's theory amounted to little more than a manifesto for photographic classicism. Through exploring light in the works of Rembrandt and composition in the paintings of Botticelli, photographers would be able to create typical and generalized images, carefully directing sitters and choosing appropriate gestures and ambiance. Troshin's formulations later became the programme of socialist realist photography, which had to conjure up dreams to replace reality.

Troshin's call for photographers to 'learn from the classics' was fully accepted six years later, when photographers began to frequent the Tretyakov Gallery, searching for inspiration. By that time, however, the status of photography as an art form was under threat. If it was art, it was not high art, but a minor one, akin to applied art. By 1935, Stalinist culture had reinstated the traditional hierarchy of the visual arts, in which painting, sculpture and architecture were considered the highest manifestations of human creativity. They could not be compared to such applied arts as graphic or poster design, let alone photography. His new uncertainty about the status of photography was demonstrated by Semen Fridlyand, the well-known photographer, who stated that, 'we can't yet unreservedly recognize photography as a high art.'²⁸⁸

Yury Eremin echoed this, 'We are often unhappy that artists-painters don't want to recognize us, photographers, as artists and treat the very art of photography

²⁸⁸ Semen Fridlyand, 'M. Al'pert', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 4, 1935, p. 25.

with a certain scepticism. Let's try to find and analyse the reasons that produce such an opinion. Is it correct? It is undoubtedly correct, because we have a colossal drawback – the absence of an artistic culture.²⁸⁹ Eremin was jealous of the artist, who had the support of past art - 'he has read many hundreds of volumes of literature ... created at different times and epochs by different peoples, he has looked at paintings and analysed them, he has certain criteria, and he knows how to proceed in defining a certain artistic creation.'²⁹⁰ The photographer bemoaned both the absence of a long history for his medium and the absence of rules and criteria, explaining how to create an artistic photograph.

The absence of a history of photography could be overcome by making excursions into the realm of painting as Troshin had proposed. Sergei Morozov, a critic and theoretician, suggested that photojournalists should spend more time in art museums because the new period demanded that photography return 'to the "eternal subjects" transformed by the new ideas of our epoch.'²⁹¹ According to Morozov, young photographers should learn not only from the realist painters, but even from Monet and Picasso, because, 'Without knowledge of the basics of the art of painting it is impossible to establish the art of photography, although using contemporary technical means, it faces the same reality as painting.'²⁹²

²⁸⁹ Yury Eremin, 'O surrogatakh fotografii', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 6, 1935, p. 13.

²⁹⁰ Eremin.

²⁹¹ Sergei Morozov, 'Fotoreporter v muzee zhivopisi', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 1, 1935, p. 14.

²⁹² Morozov, 'Fotoreporter v muzee zhivopisi', p. 15.

Leonid Mezhericher, in 1930, also dreamed about photography replacing painting.²⁹³ In his article ‘About Realism in Soviet Photographic Art’²⁹⁴ he suggested that photographers should learn from painters. Now photography was not only taken away from Soviet photographers, but became a burden. Real art was the art of grand generalization and celebration of the typical. Minor details, which during the second half of the 1920s were considered signs of photographic objectivity, now looked dangerously annoying. The mechanical truth of the camera lens had to be replaced with the highest truth as manifest through creative ideological selection. In selecting the required truth, a painter was much better equipped than a photographer.

‘The fact is’, Mezhericher wrote, ‘that an artist depicting reality, obviously makes a selection of its manifestations, separating the essential from the accidental, the general from the individual. It is one of the main elements of creativity without which creativity is impossible in general. This is the essence of the transformation of reality.’²⁹⁵ For example, when a painter is making a portrait of a shock-worker, he will not depict an accidental detail that ‘has no connection with the idea of shock work’ such as ‘frayed elbow in his tunic, or a lost button’.²⁹⁶ Instead he will enrich the image with imaginary details, which help to develop the topic, such as showing the factory in the background, rather than the studio wall.

²⁹³ Mezhericher, ‘K voprosu ob iskusstve i sovremennosti’, pp. 43–103.

²⁹⁴ Leonid Mezhericher, ‘O Realizme v sovetskom fotoiskusstve’, *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 1, 1935, pp. 3–7.

²⁹⁵ Mezhericher, ‘O Realizme v sovetskom fotoiskusstve’, p. 4.

²⁹⁶ Mezhericher, ‘O Realizme v sovetskom fotoiskusstve’.

In photography, the situation was different. If a young photographer who has no deep understanding of the creative process were to make a snapshot of the same worker, ‘We will get a portrait in which accidental details are recorded together with essential ones and overwhelm them. In the snapshot, we can see the back wall of the studio with sketches hanging there and damaged ornamental wall paper, the lost button and the frayed elbow of the model’s tunic, a scratch on his cheek, and the untypical unintentional turn of his head, and the bad lighting.’²⁹⁷ All of this is a crime against realism. Mezhericher was appalled that this approach was advertised as a creative method. He mercilessly criticized factography, ‘The failed photographer compares his “creation” with a picture and demands recognition of his “advantages”. He states that this is life! I depicted the subject as it is, not adding anything and not hiding anything. My creation is more trustworthy, more realistic than the work of an artist.’²⁹⁸ For Mezhericher, such a photographer ‘was not a realist but a trivial naturalist’²⁹⁹ who could not tell the difference between secondary details and the vitally important and typical images. Such photographers produced ‘daubs’ [*pachkotnya*] – a pejorative word constantly used by Soviet art critics of the period to label the paintings of ‘formalists’.

Mezhericher did not explain precisely how photographers could follow Gorky’s precept, announced at the First Congress of Soviet writers ‘Invent the means to extract from the sum of a given reality its main meaning and then embody it in an

²⁹⁷ Mezhericher, ‘O Realizme v sovetskom fotoiskusstve’.

²⁹⁸ Mezhericher, ‘O Realizme v sovetskom fotoiskusstve’, pp. 4–5.

²⁹⁹ Mezhericher, ‘O Realizme v sovetskom fotoiskusstve’.

image. By this means we will obtain realism.’³⁰⁰ Unfortunately, the camera lens could not fail to include the lost button. Depicting ‘all the means of the realistic artistic language’ available for photography Mezhericher hoped to develop the technical means – ‘the arms of photography’, which could help photographers select details.³⁰¹ Surprisingly, he did not mention such logical methods of selection as the staging advocated by Troshin or photomontage.

Ironically, at the moment when photographers became ready to take lessons from painters, Soviet painters started to use photography as source material for their canvases.³⁰² This exploitation of appropriate photographs was not widely advertised or justified by theory. While photography wanted to look like painting, painting started to look like photography. This development did not make all painters happy. Aristarkh Lentulov and Aleksandr Osmerkin, vintage ‘formalists’ and former members of the Knave of Diamonds group, wrote in the visitors book of the 1935 exhibition *Masters of Soviet Photography*, ‘There are photographer-artists, unfortunately we also have artist-photographers.’³⁰³

In 1935 during discussions about socialist realism in photography, an efficient way to deal with the lost button on the shock worker’s tunic was already being widely used by numerous photographers. It was not very technological and required some elementary knowledge of painting. This method was retouching.

³⁰⁰ Mezhericher, ‘O Realizme v sovetskom fotoiskusstve’, p. 4.

³⁰¹ Mezhericher, ‘O Realizme v sovetskom fotoiskusstve’, p. 5.

³⁰² See Leah Dickerman, ‘Camera Obscura: Socialist Realism in the Shadow of Photography’, *October*, 93 (2000), pp. 138–153.

³⁰³ Osaf Litovsky, ‘Samoe operativnoe iskusstvo’, *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 7, 1935, p. 5.

Initially, it was used to improve the low quality of photographic prints and the even lower quality of printed images (especially newspapers). In the 1930s, it was reclaimed for political purposes.³⁰⁴ Gustavs Klucis had to retouch pockmarks on the cheeks of Stalin. Retouching made it possible to produce a relatively idealized image, purified of unnecessary details.

By the 1930s, staging, as advocated by Troshin, was widely used both in photographic reports (such as the photo-series *The Giant and the Builder* by Maks Alpert) and in photomontage, numerous elements for which were produced using staged photography. Klucis, for instance, made photographs depicting himself, his wife and his friends, posing as marching proletarians or applauding delegates.³⁰⁵ In a sense, Klucis had already achieved the effect, which according to Mezhericher, belonged to the realm of painting. Photographs made in the artist's studio when used for a poster were given new backgrounds of factories or red banners.

The staged photograph - the raw material for photomontage - gave artists like Klucis a chance to develop many devices, which became vital for achieving socialist realism in the visual arts. The idealized image created to replace reality obviously had 'to avoid the accidental', as Troshin recommended. In photographing shock-workers and miners for his own photomontage posters,

³⁰⁴ David King, *The Commissar Vanishes: The Falsification of Photography and Art in Stalin's Russia. Photographs from The David King Collection* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1997).

³⁰⁵ Tupitsyn, *Gustav Klutsis and Valentina Kulagina*, pp. 45, 68, 116, (plate 61), 117 (plate 63, 64, 65), 118 (plate 66).

Klucis paid special attention to the language of gestures, which became an obsession of Soviet culture in the late 1920s – 1930s. He used work-weary palms of proletarians voting for the Five-Year Plan or Stalin's constitution, workers holding hammers and pneumatic drills, applauding their leaders, or clenching their fists in order to fight the enemies of the Revolution, Lenin's constantly repeated arm pointing into the future, or the restrained and monumental gestures of Stalin, saluting the crowds from the Mausoleum or the party congress podium. These were contrasted with the sharp-clawed paw of the enemy, no matter who he was – a kulak, a German Social Democrat, Leon Trotsky or Sir Stanley Baldwin. These rhetorical gestures were reduced to an elementary vocabulary, easily read, and condensed into a set of recognizable signs. Obsession with the nonverbal language of gestures was not confined to the Soviet Union. The popularity of raised fists and pointing fingers was established during the First World War and manifested itself in hundreds of posters produced by all the belligerent powers.³⁰⁶ During the interwar period, this sign language was adapted to ideological propaganda by both left and right political forces³⁰⁷. The power of the gesture was recognized by Hitler.³⁰⁸ Crowds raised their hands in the Roman salute of the Italian Fascist, *Hitlergruss* of the Nazis, or clenched their fists in the greeting of the Red Front Fighters' League [*Rotfrontkämpferbund*]. A concern with gesture could be partially explained by the increased role of nonverbal communication in

³⁰⁶ It is enough to mention the famous poster of Alfred Leete *Your Country Needs You* (1914) or the poster by Jules-Abel Faivre *On les aura!* (1916) – reproduced in John Barnicoat, *A Concise History of Posters* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1972), pp. 226, 240.

³⁰⁷ Sherwin Simmons, "Hand to the Friend, Fist to the Foe": The Struggle of Signs in the Weimar Republic', *Journal of Design History*, 13, No. 4 (2000), pp. 319–339.

³⁰⁸ Heinrich Hoffmann, *Hitler Wie Ich Ihn Sah: Aufzeichnungen Seines Leibfotografen* (München: Herbig, 1974).

the early 20th century, especially in the silent cinema, which employed exaggerated gestures bordering on sign language.

Soviet photography could hardly be accused of not producing images of generalized types. Since the second half of the 1920s it had produced an impressive portrait gallery of pioneers, workers, Red Army soldiers, shock-workers, peasants and tractor drivers. Even if names were mentioned, the images did not stress the individual, but the type. Construction worker Kalmykov or the Filippov family were merely manifestations of a Soviet stereotype. This fashion for the typical was not confined to socialist realism. It was a general European trend inspired by a widespread interest in physiognomy and the cult of 'The Characterful Head' [*Charakterkopff*].³⁰⁹ The creation of types was established in German photography with August Sander's *Menschen des 20 Jahrhunderts* [*People of the 20th Century*].³¹⁰ Sander was from Cologne and 'subtitled each image with a label denoting the person's profession – shepherd, farmer, professor, musician, writer and sculptress – and thus transformed the subjects into types.'³¹¹ Soviet shepherds and farmers photographed by Aleksandr Rodchenko, Maks Alpert or Boris Ignatovich also denoted types. Their de-individualized images could be easily appropriated for posters or socialist realist painting. This transformation of the individual into the general gave each image a timeless quality, which was increasingly valued by Soviet propaganda, which preferred it

³⁰⁹ Claudia Schmölders, *Hitler's Face: The Biography of an Image* (Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), pp. 23–24.

³¹⁰ George Baker, 'Photography Between Narrativity and Stasis: August Sander, Degeneration, and the Decay of the Portrait', *October*, 76 (1996), pp. 72–113.

³¹¹ Schmölders, *Hitler's Face*, p. 17.

to topicality focused on current events. The stereotypes of workers in Klucis' posters, often with retouched, nearly erased faces perfectly corresponded to the task confronting the new soviet art. What did not correspond to it was the lack of illusionistic effects, which Klucis adopted too late. Despite the constant criticism of his badly attached elements, his use of Constructivist foreshortening and his passion for strange angles, Klucis was instrumental in establishing socialist realism in general and Stalin's cult of personality in particular in the 1930s.³¹² Although he was not able to transform his poster factory into the ideal Stalinist production line of images, the fundamental principles of his art were developed by another artist, who was honoured by being granted a visible, albeit secondary place on the Soviet Olympus.

Improving Klucis

The photographic picture advocated by Troshin was never developed by Soviet photography, but its main principles were realized in the photographic posters created by Viktor Koretsky, who succeeded in fusing Klucis' know-how with the classicist approach advocated by the designer of *USSR in Construction*.³¹³

Koretsky was born in Kiev in 1909. 1921-1929 he studied at Moscow's

Secondary Professional Art School [*Moskovskaya srednyaya izoprofshkola*] and

³¹² An attempt of Margarita Tupitsyn to prove the anti-Stalinist credentials of Klucis through subjective interpretation of iconography of his posters looks naïve, if not misleading - Tupitsyn, *Gustav Klutsis and Valentina Kulagina*, pp. 61–62.

³¹³ Jean-Claude Marcadé wrote, 'It is likely that Victor Koretsky was most influenced by photomontages by Heartfield and Klucis for both their artistic qualities and their expressive political character.' - Jean-Claude Marcade, 'Photomontage as Experiment and Agitprop', in *Russian and Soviet Collages: 1920s - 1990s* (St. Petersburg: Palace Edition, 2005), p. 17. Marcadé was apparently unaware of Koretsky's early works which were not just influenced by but actually dominated by Klucis' devices.

took private lessons in painting from the artist Mikhail Leblan. Koretsky dreamed of becoming a painter, but after graduation resumed his work as a poster artist. He initially worked with Boris Knoblok, who later became a well-known theatre artist³¹⁴, and Vera Gitsevich.³¹⁵ The group called itself ‘Collective ‘KGK’ and produced posters clearly inspired by the works of Gustavs Klucis. In this respect, they were not alone. Klucis defined the face of the Soviet poster production in the late 1920s – early 1930s, and ‘had an entire army of followers and imitators.’³¹⁶ Koretsky, Knoblok and Gitsevich were young soldiers in this army.

One of the earliest works of the group is the poster *Long Live the International Day of Working Women 8th of March* (Figure 110). It was published in 1930 and already looked quite archaic, recalling Klucis’s posters of the mid-1920s. The background consisted of a photomontage, which showed working women. Images of differently sized female heads were glued together in an unskilful attempt to create an effect of linear perspective. In the centre of the crowd of women, they placed the initials of ‘VKP’ executed in red. The poster is impressively static and strictly symmetrical. The text of the slogan written on the Communist Party initials does not make much sense because the middle letter K is elevated and the word работницы [*rabotnitsy* - working women], which is placed on it, disrupts the phrase. The composition is centred on the rebus-like slogan and in this respect resembles the organization used in Orthodox icons, when selected

³¹⁴ See Boris Knoblok, *Grani priznaniya. Vospominaniya khudozhnika-dekoratora*. (Moscow: Vserossiiskoe tetral’noe obschestvo, 1986).

³¹⁵ Koretsky later married Gitsevich.

³¹⁶ Elena Barkhatova, ‘Modern Icon, or Tool for Mass Propaganda? Russian Debate on the Poster’, in *Defining Russian Graphic Arts: From Diaghilev to Stalin, 1898-1934*, ed. by Alla Rosenfeld (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1999), p. 162.

saints are placed around the image of the resurrection and the figure of Christ rising over the tomb is flanked by two angels producing a geometric shape that looks like the trinity of VKP initials with a hierarchically eminent middle element (Figure 111).

The three artists soon discarded this archaic approach. Their posters of the early 1930s look like paraphrases of Klucis recent works. Practically all of them employed diagonal compositions and geometrical elements of colour dividing the poster's field into segments. Another trademark of KGK designs was their repeated use of lines of people, tractors or factory equipment which decreased in size as if they were obeying the laws of linear perspective. This naïve procession of workers and tractors were usually endowed with movement by diagonally cutting the poster into two parts.

A typical KGK poster of the early 1930s is *Trade Unions of the USSR are the Advanced Detachment of the International Workers Movement* (Figure 112).

Published in 1932, it combines all the clichés used by Soviet photomontage artists during the period. In the foreground is a line of portraits of workers, beginning with a photograph of Nikolai Shvernik, the chairman of the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions [VTsSPS]. He is followed by proletarians holding different tools: a pneumatic drill, an axe, a blacksmith's pincers, and a coal miner's lamp. This parade of workers is composed of close ups. Bringing up the rear are faceless masses of labourers, followed by marching columns of Spartacists. Behind them, minuscule figures of strikers are fighting with the

Weimar police. The procession stretches from the darkness of bourgeois German democracy to the light of Soviet socialism, moving from top to bottom around the rectangle of green and red colour placed diagonally. The little figures of workers struggling with police look as if they are sliding down from the rising side of the rectangle. In contrast, the procession of happy proletarians led by comrade Shvernik climbs up, following the diagonal. The effect of this visual progression is created by the increasing size of the images. Beneath the parade of proletarians, are images of industrial equipment, starting with a tractor in a field, followed by a sequence of blast furnaces steadfastly becoming taller and taller – a straightforward (not to say phallic) symbol of the progress of Soviet industry.

Other posters by KGK often used a similar approach and revealed similar problems. They failed to create a clear message because they tried to assemble too many fragmented images into a meaningful composition based on strict geometrical principles, overpopulating their designs with photographic elements and slogans. This is evident in their poster dedicated to women-delegates of 1931 (Figure 113). It depicts the usual KGK procession, in this case of women, formed into a semicircle moving from the upper left corner of the composition towards the lower left part of it. This compositional device was ‘borrowed’ from Klucis’ *The USSR is the Shock-brigade of the World Proletariat* (Figure 114). Whereas Klucis constructed his semi-circular pageant of the international proletariat being led by comrade Stalin and the Central Committee of the Communist Party according to the laws of linear perspective, Koretsky and his colleagues tried to find a more innovative solution. The movement of the column of delegates is

interrupted by the diagonal which cuts through the lower right-hand corner of the poster. While the remote parts of the parade are constructed according to the laws of linear perspective, in the foreground these laws are discarded and reverse perspective is employed for the first three women, so that the third woman looks like a giant, and the first one like a dwarf.

Another diagonal creates a yellow triangular field in the left part of the poster. This field is divided into four horizontal segments showing women working in various ways, such as looking after children and driving tractors. This opulence of visual messages is matched by a substantial amount of text. The poster declares that, 'The meeting of the delegates is the shock brigade of the foremost workers of the socialist construction.' Another slogan, at the bottom commands 'Delegate, be at the forefront!' Two other messages are placed either side of a typical rural *babushka* passionately voting by raising her right hand. These two slogans explain the activities that the delegate has to promote. Reading from the lower main slogan to the text on the left, the message is 'Delegate, be at the forefront of the struggle for completing total collectivization'. Likewise, combining the slogan with the text on the right, the message reads, 'Delegate, be at the forefront in liquidating the kulaks as a class.' These commands could, however, be just as easily united with the slogan at the top to read: a) 'The meeting of the delegates is the shock brigade of the foremost workers of socialist construction in the struggle for completing total collectivization'; b) 'The meeting of delegates is the shock brigade of the foremost workers of the socialist construction for liquidating the kulaks as a class.'

Such semantic games were typical of the culture of the First Five-Year Plan. In graphic and textile design, political slogans (often simply abbreviated) were transformed into a kind of symbolic ornament. In their passion for ideograms, artists frequently combined the numbers 5 and 4 (denoting the Five-Year Plan in four years) or placed the number 2 in the background of a factory (denoting the second year of the Five-Year Plan). Complicated slogans in the form of rebuses became almost incomprehensible hermetic signs.³¹⁷ The polysemantic nature of KGK's slogans, which had to be visually 'assembled' by the audience, obscured the ideological messages of their posters and diminished their impact.

Such 'formalist' excesses did not remain unnoticed by the later critics of Koretsky's works. In 1951, Yury Khalaminsky wrote about the 'crisis of poster art' at the beginning of the 1930s. This was characterized by 'the broad dissemination of formalist photomontage which replaced generalized artistic images with a mechanical combination of photographs.'³¹⁸ He considered this to be lamentable, 'Photomontage artists were combining photographs arbitrarily, without obeying the laws of perspective and in this way emphasized the artificiality and unreality of what was depicted. The naturalist passivity of

³¹⁷ Konstantin Akinsha, 'Ideologiya, kak ornament', in *100 % Ivanovo. Agitatsionnyi tekstil' 1920-kh – 1930-kh godov iz sobraniya Ivanovskogo gosudarstvennogo istoriko-kraevedcheskogo muzeya im. D. G. Burylina, Vol. I, Ivanovsky agitatsionnyi tekstil': Rozhdenie i zhizn', dizain i proizvodstvo, utraty i muzeifikatsiya* (Moscow: Pervaya publikatsiya, 2010), p. 98.

³¹⁸ Yury Khalaminsky, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky* (Moscow: "Sovetsky khudozhnik," 1951), p. 8.

photography, which was not creatively worked by an artist, was interpreted by them as the objective ‘art of fact’, the ‘new objectivity’, etc.’³¹⁹

Khalaminsky noted that Koretsky and KGK were not immune to this trend and often overloaded their posters with imagery, ‘The early posters of Koretsky are composed of separate independent episodes and because of this required long examination and deciphering.’³²⁰ Khalaminsky also noted the polysemantic ambiguity of Koretsky’s creations. Analysing *Let’s Give Raw Materials to Socialist Industry* (Figure 115). Khalaminsky wrote, ‘In the aforementioned poster the whole process from the raw material to the finished product is shown. At the top of the sheet, four collective farm women are cutting the flax, in the bottom, three female workers are weaving linen. The transition from the field to the factory is represented by the goods train from which the flax is unloaded. If the goods train uniting the upper and lower photographs was turned in the opposite direction, the poster would have the opposite meaning – instead of *Let’s Give Raw Materials to Socialist Industry* it would mean *More Industrial Products for Collective Farms*. Such ambiguity in the semantic essence of a poster is produced by indifference to the meaningful selection of material, by the fact that the creativity of the artist is replaced by mechanical design.’³²¹ The critic’s main complaint was that, ‘Characteristic types, corresponding to well-conceived images, are not selected for the photographs used in this poster.’³²² It is interesting

³¹⁹ Khalaminsky, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky*.

³²⁰ Khalaminsky, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky*.

³²¹ Khalaminsky, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky*.

³²² Khalaminsky, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky*.

that Khalaminsky's comments published in 1951 echo the thoughts Mezhericher expressed in 1935, and the blueprint for the formation of socialist realist photography created by Troshin in 1928-1929. The selection of generalized types (placed, of course, in the illusionistic space of linear perspective) was a fundamental principle of socialist realism in the visual arts, including photography.

In the mid-1930s, Koretsky still had not mastered the art of socialist illusion. His posters of the period look more like paraphrases of works by Klucis, varying from dynamic diagonally oriented compositions, typical of the *Sturm und Drang* of the First Five-Year Plan, to static, nearly heraldic designs employing Soviet symbols. Around 1933, Koretsky developed a new compositional structure - also borrowed from Klucis - rows of people (often depicted in profile), repeating the same movement. *Long Live International Workers' Solidarity* (of 1933, reprinted with minor modifications in 1936 under the title *It is Our Last and Decisive Battle*) represented a row of four proletarians - a Russian, a German in a Spartacist peaked cap, and African and Chinese communists in military uniform (Figure 116). All of them are holding the pole of the red banner, which cuts the composition in two. The aggressive movement from right to left is directed towards the skyscrapers which symbolize the cityscape of the bourgeois West. Koretsky's proletarians depicted in profile are modelled on works by Klucis such as *To the Storm of the 3rd Year of the Five-Year Plan*, 1930 (Figure 117). The composition recalls the cover of the book *In Memory of the Fallen Leaders* designed by Klucis and Sergei Senkin in 1927 (Figure 118). The idea of

representing the international proletariat as a column of workers marching shoulder to shoulder recalls Klucis' poster *Long Live the Soviet Union – the Fatherland of the World Proletariat!*, 1930 (Figure 119).

Koretsky's work was also influenced by John Heartfield. In 1932, the German artist designed a cover for *AIZ*, depicting three extended hands holding a flag pole (Figure 120).³²³ Koretsky reworked this idea, but failed to attain the illusion of Heartfield's composition. Koretsky's workers are relatively realistic (thanks to the inclusion of the photographic elements), but the artist was trying to contrast the pseudo-spatial quality of the photographic elements with flat coloured planes - notably the brown overalls of the Russian worker and the khaki uniform of the Chinese communist. The striking similarity of the gestures, the repetition of the same hand for all the workers, the same retouching of the shirt sleeves of the Soviet proletarian and his Spartacist comrade makes Koretsky's poster appear mechanically repetitive. Yet rows of soldiers were also depicted in this way in medieval Russian icons. The soldiers of the 'last decisive battle' in Koretsky's poster have a markedly 'wooden' quality.

Koretsky returned to the 'row in profile' construction in his later works, but in 1935, he tried to avoid the repetition of similar movements in his poster design using running sportsmen (Figure 121). His sportsmen look like the figures from Klucis' post-cards for the All-Union Sports Festival. But Koretsky translated them from the Constructivist visual world (of foreshortenings, juxtaposing images of

³²³ *AIZ*, 24 August 1932.

different sizes, repeating the same figures in motion, and employing geometrical colour elements), into the illusionistic space of a realistic composition, constructed loosely according to the laws of linear perspective. Koretsky was re-creating Klucis' works, in a format acceptable to socialist realism.

In the second half of the 1930s, Koretsky frequently used a symmetrical, mandala-like composition, obviously inspired by the early works of Klucis. Some of Koretsky's posters using this device were praised by socialist realist critics, who refused to notice the remarkable similarity of Koretsky's designs to 'formalist' prototypes. This magical transformation of formalism into realism was effected by Koretsky's talent for adapting the details of his designs to the new taste, without changing their compositional essence. For instance, in his poster for the first election campaign to the Supreme Council of the USSR in 1937, *For a Happy Youth*, a young man and woman raise their hands, holding voting slips (Figure 122). Their poses are similar, but the girl, on the left of the poster, is lifting her right hand, while her male protagonist, on the right, is raising his left. This mirror effect produces compositional symmetry. Between the figures, at the top of the poster, the artist placed the Soviet insignia, flanked by voting slips. This poster is dull and nearly heraldic. Koretsky was not trying to achieve spatial illusion. In Wölfflin's terminology, the poster is a pure example of 'closed form.'³²⁴ The only concession Koretsky made to the new trends was to introduce 'realistic' types.

³²⁴ Heinrich Wölfflin, 'Closed and Open Form. Painting', in *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art* (New York: Dover Publications, 1956), pp. 124–148.

Nevertheless, this modification of Klucis' symmetrical poster-icons was greeted by Soviet critics as an important move in overcoming formalism.

Yury Khalaminsky regarded this election poster as 'the final departure from formalist photomontage' and 'an important step towards the realistic photographic poster.'³²⁵ He explained, 'The poster is simple and clear. Two young citizens – a youth and a girl - are saluting the insignia of the Soviet Union enveloped with voting papers. The open smiling faces of the young voters are turned in a friendly manner towards the viewer – they are not accidental photographs, but already typical images of the Soviet people, found by the artist.'³²⁶

Aleksei Fedorov-Davydov was more ambivalent in his evaluation of Koretsky's poster. He wrote, 'Following the instructions of the Party, young artists working on the creation of convincing and ideologically-saturated posters, were approaching their first creative successes. Among them was Koretsky, who opposed the schematic character of formalist photomontage with the integrity of depicting a realistic image, using photography for this task ... This was already demonstrated in his poster dedicated to the first elections to the Supreme Council of the USSR in 1938.'³²⁷ The poster '*Soviet Young People Vote for a Happy Youth*' was still quite primitive in its design, but it represented living, realistic images,

³²⁵ Khalaminsky, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky*, p. 10.

³²⁶ Khalaminsky, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky*. It is ironic that the 'typical images of the Soviet people, found by the artist' were staged photographs of the artist and his future wife.

³²⁷ Fedorov-Davydov made a striking mistake – the first elections to the Supreme Council of the USSR took place in 1937.

not accidentally used, but specially chosen for this poster. It possesses both unity of representation and integrity of composition.’³²⁸

Fedorov-Davydov employed the conventional arguments of Socialist Realist scholasticism. His description is contradictory. On the one hand, the poster is still ‘quite primitive’; on the other hand it has ‘unity of representation’ and ‘integrity of composition.’ The compositional integrity of Koretsky’s poster is no different to the compositional structure of numerous works by Klucis, such as the poster, *The Revolutionary Movement Is Impossible without Revolutionary Theory*, 1927 (Figure 123), or his unpublished illustration for Mayakovsky’s poem *Lenin*, 1925.³²⁹ Both these compositions are based on principles of strict symmetry; both include pairs of images flanking a heraldic element placed in the centre of the design (respectively the red star, and a geometric construction created from planar and three-dimensional elements). The only difference between the designs by Klucis and the poster by Koretsky is the latter’s radical simplification of the composition. Koretsky purged his work of all unnecessary elements, which could have confused the image, and at the same time rejected the complete de-contextualization of the photographic elements, which were still removed from actual photographs, but were not reduced to the cut out, close-ups of faces often employed by Klucis. The people, whose photographs Klucis used were no less typical and looked at the viewer in no less friendly a way than the youngsters photographed by Koretsky for his election design. Obviously those images were

³²⁸ Aleksei Fedorov-Davydov, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky* (Moscow, Leningrad: Iskusstvo, 1949), pp. 7–8.

³²⁹ Reproduced in Tupitsyn, *Gustav Klutis and Valentina Kulagina*, p. 97, plate 36.

not ‘accidental.’ The majority of elements used by Klucis in his montages were deliberately staged and were a result of the artist’s choice (not to say manipulation). Yet in socialist realist criticism, oppositions of the accidental versus the consciously chosen, and a ‘formalist’ (dead) treatment of image versus a realist (living) interpretation of photography became a common mantra, repeated independently of the actual circumstances of a poster’s production.

During the second half of the 1930s Koretsky often returned to using frontal symmetrical compositions with political symbols. In his 1938 poster celebrating the 20th anniversary of the Young Communist League [Komsomol], he employed three frontal images of smiling Komsomol members (Figure 124). They are organized in a triangular formation, with a young man to the lower right, above him a girl, and between them to their left, a soldier in a helmet decorated with the red star of the Red Army. Above him flies the Komsomol banner, containing a red star with the initials of the Communist International of Youth, ‘KIM’, placed inside the circle. The size of the circle corresponds to the size of the soldier’s face and the red star on his helmet is repeated in enlarged form on the emblem of the KIM. In addition, all three figures are wearing small badges with the same emblem.

This type of playing with symbols within a simplified geometrical structure, where the human face was made the equivalent of a political insignia reached its peak in Koretsky’s 1939 poster *Long Live the Leninist-Stalinist Young Communist League, the Patron of the USSR’s Navy* (Figure 125). A large red star containing a

portrait of Stalin within a circle dominates the composition. This format is echoed in the emblem of the Komosomol below, which comprises a star in a circle on a red banner. Beneath are photographs of young officers in the Red Navy: Ivan Burmistrov, who was a submarine commander in the navy of the Republican Spanish government and Nikolai Egipko, another submarine commander and participant of the Spanish civil war. The two lower points of the large star touch the heads of the navy heroes, linking them to Stalin. Behind the two submariners are crowds of sailors and a seascape with symmetric rows of battleships. Scenes from navy life occupy the spaces between the upper points of the large star. At top left are yachts, and at top right, the launch of a new battle ship. These details are subordinate to the visual emphasis on the mystical connection between the leader and his devoted lieutenants. The format of a composition revolving around the points of a red star is archetypal.

Communists and Nazis both used primordial symbols, as contemporaries noticed. In February 1935, Carl Gustav Jung discussed the Nazi usage of the swastika rotating in the wrong direction and coloured black instead of gold, and commented, ‘That is most interesting – as interesting as the fact that the Soviets, who really cannot be accused of spiritual symbolism, have chosen the five-pointed star. The five-pointed star is the pentagram, and because it is the sign of earthly men, it is the sign of evil magic. You see, David’s star is six-pointed, but the Soviet star is not only five-pointed, it is also red, the colour of blood, so it is

an intensely evil sign. Of course, the people who chose it for the Soviets had no idea of that.’³³⁰

Jung was right. It is highly unlikely that the Soviets were interested in the mystical meaning of the pentagram. Nevertheless, pseudo-mystical posters, like Koretsky’s 1939 work, played quite an important (almost ritualistic) role in developing the political religion of the Soviet Union, which began to emerge after the death of Lenin in 1924, and grew apace in the 1930s. For the masses, the posters’ monolithic symmetry, static character, and symbolism recalled the iconography of Russian icons. The compositional structure of Koretsky’s poster, with Stalin in the centre of a red star, resembles the Russo-Byzantine iconography of *The Most Holy Theotokos the Unburnt Bush*, also called *The Virgin of the Unburnt Bush* (Figure 126). In the icon, the Virgin is placed in the centre of an eight-pointed star, created by two diamonds of red (fire) and green (bush) colours denoting the burning bush. It is unlikely that the blasphemous substitution of Stalin for the Virgin and the pentagram for the eight-pointed star was planned by the artist. It is much more likely that Koretsky just followed visual trends established for the mass production of images concerning the Soviet political religion.

Indeed, the compositional structure of this kind of hierarchical poster-icons (see Chapter 1) recalled the devices of medieval art. The second life of these Soviet

³³⁰ Carl Jung, *Nietzsche’s Zarathustra: Notes of the Seminar Given in 1934-1939*, In 2 vol. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988), I, p. 374.

‘mandalas’, initially introduced during the 1920s by Klucis and his colleagues, started after 1935 and continued until the early 1940s.

It is worth noting that the return to the genre of the hierarchical poster, whose archetypal structure recalled traditional Orthodox iconography, occurred at a time when a pseudo-folklore (or *fakelore*) was also being developed in Soviet culture generally.³³¹

In 1936, in the Anichkov palace, formerly an imperial palace in St. Petersburg, transformed in 1934 into the Leningrad Andrei Zhdanov Palace of Young Pioneers, painters from the village of Palekh created monumental panels for the rooms of Fairy Tales and Maxim Gorky. Before the Revolution, the inhabitants of Palekh painted icons. During the 1920s, they started to produce lacquer boxes adorned with miniatures in the traditional style of icon painting, depicting the battles of the Red cavalry or meetings of Party officials.³³² These ‘secular icons’ were perfect manifestations of Soviet *fakelore*. It is highly ironic that the former icon painters were asked to produce monumental paintings at a point when poster artists were designing new political icons.

At the end of the 1930s, Koretsky developed another type of poster composition based on icon prototypes: he used the icon format of the holy trinity to celebrate the Soviet leaders. In 1939 Koretsky placed a circular bas relief of Lenin on a red

³³¹ See the innovative research into this topic by Konstantin Bogdanov, *Vox Populi: Fol'klornye zhanry sovetskoi kul'tury* (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2009).

³³² Anatoly Bakushinsky, *Iskusstvo Palekha* (Moscow, Leningrad: “Academiya,” 1934).

banner above depictions of Stalin and Molotov (Figures 127 -128). In Koretsky's 1939 poster dedicated to the opening of the All Union Agricultural Exhibition [VSKhV], Stalin, in the form of Sergei Merkulov's monumental statue occupied the centre of the composition, dominating the participants and the pavilion dedicated to the mechanization of agriculture designed by the architects Viktor Andreev and Ivan Taranov (Figure 129). Koretsky transformed the real space of the main square of the exhibition (the 30-metres-high Stalin statue actually stood in front of the Mechanization pavilion) into a static and symbolic composition (Figure 130). Below Stalin, are a row of photographs of agricultural experts (including Trofim Lysenko, president of the All Union Academy of Agriculture). The portraits are arranged symmetrically, with the largest images in the centre, diminishing in size towards the edges of the poster. Behind the experts is a crowd of people. The steel arch of the pavilion, constructed like a zeppelin hangar, creates a semicircle behind the leader (Figure 131). Issuing from the pavilion, are vertically oriented, slightly curved ears of wheat against a red ground. Koretsky transformed the architectural grandeur of the pavilion at the agricultural exhibition into the insignia of the USSR; the arch of the pavilion resembles the globe on the Soviet state emblem with the ears of wheat emphasizing the likeness. Fedorov-Davydov noticed the artist's tendency to include images of statues in his posters, and considered that it was 'using sculpture for a dual purpose – to develop a topic and to heroically monumentalize the artistic treatment.'³³³ The vogue for 'monumentalizing' posters by including images of statues of the leaders started around 1930. It had a profound political purpose. In 1924 Vladimir Mayakovsky

³³³ Fedorov-Davydov, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky*, p. 24.

wrote, ‘Lenin, even now, is more alive than all the living.’³³⁴ By 1930, the time had come to turn Lenin into a statue. The rapid growth of Stalin’s cult of personality demanded a new hierarchy, in which the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party had to be seen as the political heir of the deceased founder of the USSR. This process was complete by 1935, when the apology for the cult of personality, written by the French communist Henri Barbusse, *Staline: Un monde nouveau vu à travers un homme*³³⁵ was posthumously published in France.³³⁶ Barbusse coined the slogan, ‘Stalin is Lenin today’, which was immediately adopted by Soviet propaganda. The process of transforming Stalin into Lenin’s twin had actually begun before the publication of Barbusse’s book. Visual propaganda in general and photomontage in particular had played an important role in this development. After Lenin’s death, depictions of the deceased leader in Soviet posters were dominated by photography, or conventional graphics, based on photographs. However, at the beginning of the 1930s, the image of Lenin underwent a symbolic transformation: from being the eternal revolutionary, destined to be ‘more alive than all the living’ he became a symbol, a statue, and an historical fact. At the same time, he began to appear in the company of Stalin.

Ironically, one of the first successful photomontage compositions transforming Lenin into a monument was designed by John Heartfield during his trip to the USSR in 1931. It was used as the title page for No. 9 of the magazine *USSR in*

³³⁴ Mayakovsky, ‘Vladimir Il’ich Lenin’, VI, p. 233.

³³⁵ Henri Barbusse, *Staline: Un Monde Nouveau Vu à Travers Un Homme* (Paris: Flammarion, 1935).

³³⁶ Barbusse died of pneumonia during his trip to the USSR on 30 August 1935.

Construction (Figure 132). Heartfield used an aerial photograph of a Soviet city, with Lenin's shadow covering the concrete blocks of newly erected buildings.³³⁷ This 'mystical' image of Lenin's ghost acting as a canopy for the construction sites of the First Five-Year Plan was so successful that it was even used as a backdrop for Nikolai Pogodin's play *My Friend*, performed at the Theatre of the Revolution in 1932.³³⁸

Of course, Heartfield was not the first artist to use the image of Lenin as a statue in Soviet photomontage. It had been introduced by Gustavs Klucis, who produced one of the first posters featuring a Lenin monument in 1928 (Figure 133). Klucis also pioneered the iconography of Lenin and Stalin as 'twins'. In his poster *Building Socialism under the Banner of Lenin* of 1930, he merged portraits of the two leaders, placing Stalin behind Lenin, almost transforming him into Lenin's shadow (Figure 134). This placement was probably appropriate when representing Stalin as 'Lenin today' was just developing. By the mid-1930s, the iconography of Lenin and Stalin had become canonized – they were doomed to appear together – the first in the form of sculpture (either statue or bas-relief, reduced nearly to the function of a sign, equal to the hammer and sickle, red star or the Soviet insignia),³³⁹ the second in flesh and blood. By 1933, Klucis had created

³³⁷ Heartfield used a photograph of Vasily Kozlov's statue of Lenin, which had been installed in the front of the Smol'nyi Institute in Leningrad in 1927. The statue was popular and soon numerous casts of it were erected in numerous Soviet cities. Ironically in Heartfield's montage it looks much more monumental than in reality.

³³⁸ The stage design was produced by Il'ia Shlepyanov, *Stat'i, zametki. Sovremenniki o Shlepyanove* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1969), p. 52.

³³⁹ Another example of Lenin's image being transformed into a sign is the frequent use of his silhouette in posters. The flatness and immateriality of such a visual sign, especially when combined with photographs of Stalin, played the same role as 'monumentalising' posters. Lenin was transformed into an immaterial ghost. Using silhouettes of Lenin was quite common in posters

hierarchical posters depicting a gigantic bust of Lenin, a huge head of Stalin (smaller than the sculpture) and smaller portraits of the members of the Politbureau, diminishing in size according to the importance of their political influence (Figure 135). By the end of the 1930s, Stalin started to appear on posters alone. In many cases, he was depicted as a gigantic statue – as static and motionless as a reincarnation of an Egyptian pharaoh. The widespread use of this iconographic image signalled the final victory of the cult of personality.³⁴⁰

In his ‘monumentalized’ posters, Koretsky did not demonstrate any striking inventiveness and did not attempt to introduce any new iconographic types. He was going with the flow, ‘improving’ Klucis’ poster designs by making them more slick and appropriate for the period when idealized socialist realist imagery had triumphed. Interestingly, during the 1950s, when the names of Heartfield and Klucis could not even be mentioned by Soviet critics, Fedorov-Davydov, the Marxist art historian and former curator of the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow, who had initiated the museum’s reform during the Cultural Revolution, actually congratulated Koretsky for ‘using sculpture’ in his poster compositions.³⁴¹ It is difficult to imagine that the art historian was not aware that Koretsky was just skilfully reusing the discoveries of others.

of the late 1930s. Klucis for instance used this device in the poster *Long live the Stalinist generation of Stakhanovite heroes* (ca. 1935) reproduced in Tupitsyn, *Gustav Klutis and Valentina Kulagina*, p. 155, Plate 118.

³⁴⁰ This victory was especially evident in 1939 when Stalin turned 60 years old. That year numerous monuments of him were erected in different Soviet cities.

³⁴¹ The complete bibliography of Aleksei Fedorov-Davydov could be found in: Aleksei Fedorov-Davydov, *Russky peizazh XVIII – nachala XIX veka* (Moscow: “Sovetsky khudozhnik,” 1986), pp. 286–292.

The work of Viktor Koretsky was consonant with the *Zeitgeist*. The young artist rapidly established a career. In 1938 he became the designer of the newspaper *Pravda*, replacing Klucis, who was arrested in January 1938 as a member of a Latvian fascist and nationalist organization.³⁴² According to Fedorov-Davydov, ‘Work on the visual solution of the holiday pages (‘The Day of Aviation’, ‘May Day’, ‘The opening of the agricultural exhibition’) for *Pravda* and other newspapers, which started in 1938, became excellent training for Koretsky, teaching him political understanding of a subject, the skill to react to an event quickly and effectively, establishing ideological tasks as the basis for his creativity, and completely subordinating artistic and creative explorations to them.’³⁴³ This dubious compliment correctly reflected the work of an artist at the country’s leading newspaper, published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The first page of *Pravda* was not the best place for creative experiments. The photomontage compositions that Koretsky designed for the ‘Red days’ marked on the Soviet calendar initially recalled Klucis’s designs, which had appeared in *Pravda* before his arrest. These illustrations could be divided into two main types: static and symmetrical compositions (usually depicting pageants), and photomontages, which mimicked the illusionistic space of photography, to produce a kind of ‘controlled snapshot’, fully corresponding to socialist realism’s demands for a ‘creative choice’ of details and an artistic re-working of reality. The rapid changes in Koretsky’s photomontages for the soviet holidays are interesting. On 18 August 1938, *Pravda* published his composition *Stalin Is the Banner for Soviet Pilots* dedicated to the Day of Aviation (Figure

³⁴² Tupitsyn, *Gustav Klutis and Valentina Kulagina*, p. 73.

³⁴³ Fedorov-Davydov, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky*, p. 8.

136). The horizontal rows of marching pilots carrying Stalin's portrait and banners of the Soviet Air Force beneath symmetrical rows of flying planes look quite artificial and do not convey any impression of photographic space. The composition is very like Klucis' designs for the newspaper. There is, however, less symbolism. Koretsky's photomontage is half way between the hierarchical model of visual propaganda and the effort to re-create the illusory space of photography. By 1940, the situation had changed. His page design for the First of May looks less like a photomontage and more like a heavily doctored photograph of demonstrators greeting a passing tank column (Figure 137). The photomontage is heavily retouched, and the two main photographs from which it is composed do not match perfectly. Koretsky combined news photographs of the May Day march with a column of rolling tanks. He wanted the marchers and tank drivers to greet each other. Unfortunately, the directions in which they are looking do not coincide. This discrepancy gives the composition a slightly surreal flavour. The repetitious images of similar banners intensify this sensation.

On 1 May 1941, the first page of *Pravda* looked different. Instead of trying to mimic (not to say, fake) news photographs, Koretsky created a composition, which looks more like a socialist realist painting: rows of happy marchers are carrying flowers and banners, creating dynamic pattern (Figure 138). The gigantic main banner reproduces bas-reliefs of Lenin and Stalin. Aeroplanes fly above. The artist is no longer trying to create a photograph – he is returning to poster symbolism, but he has adjusted this symbolism to the task of the day. Employing

the hierarchy of images adopted by the Soviet canon of the early 1930s, Koretsky has simply tried to make these images more naturalistic.

Koretsky's fame was not only based on his works, which merely modified Klucis' devices and made them acceptable in the new situation. The artist's real innovation was the way he radically transformed the methods of the photomontage poster of the late 1920s – 1930s to create an entirely new genre – a poster that was transformed into a photographic picture.

Creating Stalin's Empire Style³⁴⁴

In 1934, Koretsky took the first step in converting the post-Constructivist poster into a socialist realist photomontage composition. That year he designed the poster *Shock Workers, Go into Battle for Cast Metal, Steel, and Rolling Stock* (Figure 139). The poster depicted two steel-makers working in front of a blast furnace. In the background the artist placed images of a conveyer belt, a train (obviously departing with the products), and an industrial landscape topped with an elevated pipeline. Above the pipeline, Koretsky placed a traditional Constructivist element – a red plane balanced by an area of yellow, which denoted the mouth of the blast furnace. Two bright colour elements, reduced to simple geometric forms, were also situated in the upper left and lower right parts of the composition. However, Koretsky departed from 'Constructivist' symbolism by

³⁴⁴ 'Stalin's Empire Style' is a traditional definition used in Russia to describe socialist realist art of the late 1930s – early 1950s.

transforming the yellow rectangle into an imperfect, but still legible, attempt to depict fire. Such concessions to realism did not remain unnoticed. Yury Khalaminsky wrote, 'The colossal development of the economy and culture of our Motherland during the 1930s created all the conditions for the final triumph of socialist realism in Soviet art. During these years, a turning point was reached in creativity of many soviet poster artists, including Viktor Koretsky. In the poster *Shock Workers, Go into Battle for Cast Metal, Steel, and Rolling Stock* created in 1934, the fragmentation and mosaic structure of the photomontage poster was replaced by clarity and precision of composition. The image of a man took the central place in the poster – the artist depicted two foundry workers at the moment of producing steel, when they are opening the tap-hole and the jet of iron is spurting out of the furnace.'³⁴⁵ It was necessary to have a rich imagination to perceive the 'the jet of iron' in the slightly modified yellow-reddish plane of colour. According to the critic, 'The immeasurably increased role of man in socialist production, related to the development of the Stakhanovite movement, was reflected in the new character of the poster's composition.'³⁴⁶ It is unlikely that Koretsky simplified the composition of his posters because he was inspired by the shock labour of Aleksei Stakhanov and his followers, but by the mid-1930s the artist had started to move gradually away from overloaded photomontages with multiplied images and complicated slogans. He evidently responded to the dictum of the time, which called for simplification of the image and clarity of the ideological message. The period of marching columns and over-generalized figures of gigantic proletarians reminiscent of automatons, which had dominated

³⁴⁵ Khalaminsky, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky*, p. 9.

³⁴⁶ Khalaminsky, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky*.

the visual propaganda of the first half of the 1930s, was coming to an end. If the masses were still depicted in posters, they had to be placed in the background. Now the collective had to be represented not by the crowd, but by the type. The very 'typicality' of such an image of Soviet man was instantly transformed into a stereotype. Khalaminsky had a point, when he mentioned the Stakhanovite movement – the ideological trend was changing.

David Brandenberger has explained the ideological changes of the 1930s:

A turn to populism complemented this departure from class as the sole organizational principle of Soviet society. Indeed, as early as 1931, M. Gorky and others concerned with societal mobilization were contending that everyday heroes could be used to popularize the nascent patriotic line 'by example'. As G. K. Ordzhonikidze explained to an editor at *Pravda*, 'Bathing individuals from among the people in glory – there's a critical significance to this sort of thing. In capitalist countries, nothing can compare with the popularity of gangsters like Al Capone. In our country, under socialism, heroes of labour must be the most famous.' In marked contrast to the focus on anonymous social force during the 1920s, this stress on popular heroism led to the rise of what was essentially a new genre of agitational literature ... Such populist, heroic tales from the recent past were seen as providing a common narrative to which the entire society would be able to relate – a rallying call with greater social

application than the previous decade's narrow and impersonal focus on class and materialism.³⁴⁷

The effort to personalize anonymous social forces led to the establishment of a rich hagiography of shock-workers such as Kalmykov, and to the lionization of Stakonovites. It also gave rise to the genre, of what might be called the 'fake portrait', the depiction of a worker, collective farmer or soldier, who could be characteristic enough to represent his class, social strata or professional field, but at the same time had some individuality (which was used solely for the purpose of stressing his typicality). Explaining this mysterious quality of the socialist-realist treatment of the typical, Yury Khalaminsky wrote, 'At the basis of the typical image of the protagonist in Koretsky's posters there is always the concrete, vividly expressed individuality of a man, to whom Socialism gave birth.'³⁴⁸

The genre of the 'fake portrait' proved to be useful at the end of the 1930s, during the great purges, when the recently established Soviet iconography had to be drastically revised. According to Brandenberger, 'the crisis resulted in a profound transformation of the official pantheon's demographic composition. If before the purges, the party line's emphasis on the russocentric themes and leaders from the tsarist past had been overshadowed by the popularization of Soviet heroes from the civil war and on-going socialist construction, the purges' destruction of many

³⁴⁷ David Brandenberger, *National Bolshevism: Stalinist Mass Culture and the Formation of Modern Russian National Identity, 1913-1956* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 29.

³⁴⁸ Khalaminsky, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky*, p. 11.

of these prominent personalities between 1936 and 1938 radically impaired these propaganda efforts.³⁴⁹

This revision coincided with the growing influence of Russian nationalism both in ideology and in visual propaganda. The system of national bolshevism, based on the concept of Russian ethnic primacy was crystallized by the end of the 1930s³⁵⁰ and was clearly manifest during the years of the Second World War. The ‘humanization’ of the faceless representative of the masses ultimately transformed the composition of the poster, which by the end of the 1930s was often limited to one or two figures. At the same time, the growth in nationalism provoked a substantial revision of imagery. The internationalist iconography comprising marching columns of the world’s proletariat continued to be exploited, but its use was limited to certain ideological tasks, such as the struggle against fascism. The human types selected to represent Soviet workers, peasants, or soldiers now had to have recognizably Slavic features. Russianness (in those cases, when an artist was not depicting international efforts or the heroic deeds of the people from the

³⁴⁹ Brandenberger, *National Bolshevism*, p. 61.

³⁵⁰ Brandenberg wrote, “if discussion of Russian ethnic primacy during the mid-1930s was initially limited to the contribution that ethnic Russians had made to the revolution, by 1936, civil war victories and the Stakhanovite movement could also be described as Russian in nature. Then, in January of 1937, this sphere of influence was expanded beyond the parameters of the Soviet experience itself, when the figurehead president of the USSR, M.I. Kalinin, declared at a major conference that “the Russian people have produced from their midst no few individuals who, by means of their talent, have raised the world’s cultural level – Lomonosov, Pushkin, Belinsky, Dobrolubov, Chernyshevsky, Nekrasov, Schedrin, Chekhov, Tolstoi, Gorky, Surikov, Repin, Glinka, Tchaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Mendeleev, Timiryazev, Pavlov, Michurin, Tsiolkovsky...All of this speaks to the Russian people’s role in the development of the world culture.” - Brandenberger, *National Bolshevism*, pp. 43–44. He also correctly noticed the pragmatic motivation of the employment of the nationalist imagery to the Soviet propaganda of the period following the great purges, “Such circumstances made increased reliance on traditional Russian heroes virtually inevitable, insofar as they were at least as recognizable and heroic as their Soviet-era contemporaries and considerably less likely to be compromised by the ongoing purges.” – Brandenberger, *National Bolshevism*, p. 61.

national republics) became an important criterion of socialist-realist typicality. Muscular young men, Russian beauties and bearded village patriarchs, representing the values of traditionalism,³⁵¹ became the new heroes of Soviet visual propaganda during the 1940s. Blondness became one of the characteristic Slavic features enforced by Agitprop.³⁵² This requirement created an unforeseen competition with the visual language of Nazi propaganda which, to use the Nietzschean term, exploited the image of *die blonde germanische Bestie* [blond Germanic beast]. Blond masculine Aryans were opposed by no less blond and no less masculine Slavs.

Like every practising poster artist, Koretsky had to pay tribute to this tendency. His poster *Be Ready for the Medical Defence of the USSR* released at the end of the 1930s was a typical example of the ‘fake portrait’ of the beautiful blond nurse (Figure 140). Her idealized image allegedly represented activists of The Society of Assistance to Defence Aviation and Chemical Construction [OSAVIOKhIM] who were qualified in medical defence and wore special badges³⁵³, which the artists depicted on the nurse’s chest. In this composition, Koretsky employed his favourite game with repetitive emblems: the Red Cross on the badge is repeated

³⁵¹ It is interesting that the image of a village elder endlessly employed by the Soviet wartime propaganda dedicated to the heroic deeds of the Soviet partisans looked like unconscious repetition of the negative iconography of kulak in the posters of the period of collectivization of agriculture. The signs of patriarchy and conservatism, which were negative symbols of reaction and backwardness were reinterpreted as manifestations of the Soviet patriotism – Akinsha, “‘Painting Went Out into the Street’: The War of Images Along the Eastern Front”, pp. 144–147.

³⁵² Agitprop – abbreviation of the name of the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of the USSR, which since the adoption of the Decree of the Central Committee on picture-poster agitation of March 1931 was in control of the visual propaganda.

³⁵³ The badge *Be ready for the medical defence of the USSR* was introduced by OSAVIOKhIM in 1934 and was awarded to the activist until the beginning of the Second World War.

on a much large scale in the Nurse's white head-scarf, and on the banner in the background. The main element of the composition, however, is the oversized portrait of the blonde beauty. As Khalaminsky stated when analysing this work, 'From the end of the 1930s, starting with the poster *'Be Ready for the Medical Defence of the USSR'* the psychological image of the Soviet person became the semantic and the compositional centre of Koretsky's creations.'³⁵⁴ Ironically 'the psychological image of the Soviet person' used by Koretsky for his OSAVIOKhIM poster would have been just as appropriate for the propaganda of the Nazis' League of German Maidens [*Bund Deutscher Mädel*].

In 1938, Koretsky created the poster *If War Comes Tomorrow* (Figure 141). The centre is occupied by the towering figure of an aged worker in trademark overalls, holding a rifle. Behind the vigilant proletarian, is a crowd of armed people. In the background, Koretsky placed a huge red banner. The topic of the poster was inspired by the film of the same name, created by the group of film directors led by Efim Dzigan.³⁵⁵ The film was dedicated to the famous and rapid victory of the Red Army in the coming war with the fascist enemy.³⁵⁶ In the film, the war ended with an uprising of the oppressed proletariat in the imperialist countries. One of the closing subtitles of the movie stated, 'In such a way, the war, which will finish with the destruction of the capitalist world, can start.' The creation of Dzigan and his colleagues heralded a new approach to factography in the Soviet cinema of the

³⁵⁴ Khalaminsky, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky*.

³⁵⁵ See Efim Dziga, *Zhizn'i fil'my: Stat'i, svidetel'stva, vospominaniya, razmyshleniya* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1981).

³⁵⁶ In the film the armies of three imperialist states are attacking the USSR. However the foreign aggressors are speaking only German, their helmets are decorated by a sign reminding swastika, and the real swastika is marking the wings of the enemy airplanes.

early 1940s. According to the filmmakers, it was based on documentary footage of the Red Army's tactical exercises. Actually, the 'factual' footage showing the People's Commissar of Defence, Kliment Voroshilov, the commander of the Moscow Military District, Semen Budenny, the advancing tank units, and the cavalry charges was supplemented with fictional scenes using 'typical' (rather stilted) characters, a primitive plot, and a fantastic vision of the invincibility of the Red Army, which reflected the mood of the new Stalinist jingoism.

The film did not contain a character like the protagonist of Koretsky's poster, but included a scene showing factory workers ecstatically enlisting as volunteers, and ready to depart for the front. The working man featured in Koretsky's composition is posing with a gun in his hands, standing half turned to the left, and looking fixedly at something hidden from the spectator's view. Both his pose and his gaze, looking out beyond the limits of the composition, are reminiscent of the static models of academic drawing. Nevertheless, socialist-realist critics were ready to invent their own reading of the 'psychology of the Soviet person' depicted by the artist. Fedorov-Davydov wrote, 'The image of the worker, squeezing his rifle and ready to repulse the attack, to defend his socialist Motherland in the poster of 1939³⁵⁷ *If War Comes Tomorrow* is dynamic, vital and effective. The artist succeeded in finding the type that was needed and interpreting it to attain expressivity and political importance.'³⁵⁸ Yury Khalaminsky was more verbose in his praise, 'The worker with a rifle is standing against the background of the banner. His aged frowning face expresses a great

³⁵⁷ Fedorov-Davydov is mistaken – the poster was published in 1938.

³⁵⁸ Khalaminsky, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky*, p. 8.

will and readiness for struggle. This is a soldier of the old guard, one of those who during his youth, according to the order of Lenin and Stalin [Sic! – K.A.], stormed the Winter Palace, whose whole life was spent in the struggle to consolidate Soviet power.’³⁵⁹ In Stalinist criticism, interpreting an artwork was replaced by interpreting the image or the ‘type’, whose fictionalized history had to be invented by the critic.

If Khalaminsky considered the basis of the poster’s success to reside in the correctly chosen type of the worker, he also paid tribute to its compositional structure. He explained that in the first version of the poster the worker was depicted frontally. By changing his position to a half turn, the artist added a dynamic element to the composition. In reality, Koretsky’s poster simply corresponded to one of two structural types that he used constantly during this period: frontal (symmetrical) or diagonal. *If War Comes Tomorrow* corresponded to the diagonal type – the red banner, the rifle in the hands of the worker, and his half turn created a geometric orientation of the poster from left to right.

The poster was a success, but Koretsky’s real scoop happened a year later, when, according to the secret protocols of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact,³⁶⁰ Soviet troops occupied the Baltic States, Romanian Moldova and Bukovina, and the eastern part of Poland, which was divided by Stalin and Hitler. On 22 September 1939, Koretsky’s photomontage *Our Army is the Army for the Liberation of Working*

³⁵⁹ Khalaminsky, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky*, p. 12.

³⁶⁰ See David Fisher and Anthony Read, *The Deadly Embrace: Hitler, Stalin, and the Nazi-Soviet Pact, 1939-1941* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999).

People was printed on the first page of *Pravda* (Figures 142 - 143). It was also reproduced in the Red Army newspaper *Red Star* and appeared on the cover of *USSR in Construction* (No 2-3, 1940), designed by El Lissitzky (Figure 144). Koretsky's photomontage was published as a poster by various publishing houses and became the dominant image during the year of 'liberation', when the USSR 'liberated' the workers (and occupied the territories) of neighbouring countries. Koretsky's poster depicted the emotional kiss of a Soviet soldier in combat uniform and a Western Belorussian peasant, dressed in an embroidered shirt. Behind the kissing couple, Koretsky placed the image of a boundary post used to mark the Soviet border, which has just been crossed by the soldier, now being embraced by his Slavic brother. On the horizon, are the advancing lines of the Red Army. Koretsky's original montage reveals to what extent the staged kiss was retouched. To his black and white photomontage, the artist added just a few accents of red: the stripes on the boundary post and the red flag carried by the advancing Soviet troops.³⁶¹ The colour scheme of Koretsky's posters of the late 1930s and early 1940s resembles the Constructivist cannon – black and white photographs were adorned with a few coloured (usually red) elements. Such decoration was often applied almost mechanically. Although grey-black and red continued to dominate photomontage propaganda posters, the essence of the coloured elements changed – they now had to be realistic. Geometrical figures and flat colour planes, which had been used to reinforce the compositional structure and increase its dynamism, were replaced by red banners, stars, shoulder stripes and flat red backgrounds. The impact of these -details upon the

³⁶¹ In the final version, a red star was added to the helmet of the soldier and red tabs to his collar.

photographic image remained the same as in Klucis' posters. Communist emblems and banners painted in bright colours, stressing their flatness, added an essential quality of generalization to the poster, but conflicted with the illusionistic space of photography. If the essence remained the same, the form changed to correspond to the new rules – now such elements manifested the socialist realist approach and were no longer treated as signs of formalist deviation.

The success of Koretsky's vision of the Soviet occupation of Western Belorussia can be attributed to its open theatricality and emotional impact. The poster was a true photograph-picture with staged models, calculated gestures, and thought-through costumes. The touching kiss of the liberator and the liberated had its own surprising power. It was probably the first image of two men kissing in Soviet visual propaganda. Kissing was the traditional greeting for Slavs,³⁶² so its use by the artist corresponded perfectly to the new nationalism, with its pan-Slavic overtones. Yet the brotherly kiss had another quality that was highly appealing in 1939 - exaggerated emotionalism. After the war, sentimentality became a dominant feature of Soviet art, and could be defined as socialist realist Biedermeier.³⁶³

³⁶² "The greeting kiss on the lips was typical, for example, for the Slavic peoples and Georgians..." - Al'bert Baiburin and Andrei Toporkov, *U istokov etiketa* (Moscow: Nauka, 1990), p. 53.

³⁶³ Soviet sentimentality manifested itself in paintings of Fedor Reshetnikov. See K. Butenko, *Fedor Pavlovich Reshetnikov* (Moscow: Sovetsky khudozhnik, 1954) who was equally successful producing official portraits of Stalin (1948) or sugar sweet genre paintings depicting school children as *Arrived for vacations* (1950) or *The bad mark again!* (1952). The importance of sentimentalism in the post-war socialist realist hierarchy was demonstrated by the awarding the artist the highest soviet award – Stalin prize for both the official portrait of the generalissimo (awarded in 1948) and for the painting of the cute seven years old cadet reporting to bearded grandfather his arrival home for the winter brake (awarded in 1951).

Koretsky's use of this passionate kiss would have been inconceivable in the purist and stern propaganda of the late 1920s and early 1930s, when the only acceptable greetings were a strong handshake or a Red Front salute. Even Koretsky could not have envisaged that the brotherly Slavic kiss, which he had rehabilitated, would become the trademark ritual of the leadership of the international communist movement during the waning of socialism.

In 1939, Koretsky produced another poster dedicated to the 'liberation' of neighbouring countries. Unlike, the 'kiss' *Glory to the Red Army, the Liberator of the People of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina* was virtually ignored (Figure 145). It recalled the stiff theatricality of Baroque frescoes. Like the Kiss, it represented another archaic folk greeting: a bearded peasant presents a Red Army officer with a round loaf of bread and salt on an embroidered towel. Folk embroidery became the distinguishing feature of the liberated peoples (like the embroidered shirt of the Belorussian peasant), emphasizing the national character of the scene, so beloved by socialist-realist criticism.³⁶⁴

³⁶⁴ The socialist realist fixation with the problem of the national character of art started after Stalin's speech at the 16th congress of VKP(b) in which he stated, "What is national culture under the rule of the national bourgeoisie? It is the culture bourgeois in its content and national in its form aimed to poison the masses by the poison of nationalism and to enforce the rule of the bourgeoisie. What is the national culture under the dictatorship of proletarians? It is culture socialist in its content and national in its form aimed to educate masses in the spirit of internationalism and to enforce the dictatorship of proletarians." Iosif Stalin, 'Politicheskoy otchet Tsentral'nogo Komiteta XVI s'ezdu VKP (b) 27 iyunya 1930 g', in *Sochineniya* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoy literatury, 1949), XII, p. 367. In some sense the posters of Koretsky are becoming the model and in the same time the first manifestation of the national art of the Byelorussians and Moldavians included by force in the family of soviet peoples.

Behind the bearded peasant, villagers stand with bouquets of flowers, some of which have been already given to the liberators, like the smiling soldier standing behind the officer accepting the bread, who is holding a bunch of roses. In the background, Koretsky placed rows of tanks and marching columns crossing the pontoon bridges put over the river Dnestr (Nistru in Romanian). Military aeroplanes cover the sky. All of these forces are moving from right to left – towards the happy peasants. The red banner behind the Soviet commander is like a theatrical curtain opening onto the scene of conquest. The archaic device³⁶⁵ of using open curtains, placed to one side (or both sides) of the composition to frame the image recalled the practice of Renaissance and Baroque painters who used this technique to symbolize the revelation of truth. The curtains also had a formal function. Martha Hollander has observed, ‘The curtain, particularly when shown drawn back on a road, carries another association besides that of revealing truth or ennobling what it frames: the painted surprise of illusionism. Painted to reveal, entirely or in part, the picture behind it, the curtain transforms a painting into a fictive object isolated from the viewer’s space, calling attention to the ability of painting to deceive the eye with its verisimilitude.’³⁶⁶ It seems that by resurrecting this tradition, socialist-realist artists were employing both ennobling and illusionistic effects. The practice of framing a scene or an image with curtains is frequently encountered in Stalinist monumental painting and in posters, which

³⁶⁵ “The concept of the painted curtain originated in Pliny the Elder’s account of Zeuxis and Parrhasius in *Historia naturalis*. In a contest between these two celebrated trompe l’oeil painters, Zeuxis paints grapes so lifelike that birds fly up to peck at them, but Parrhasius fools Zeuxis by painting an illusionistic curtain that Zeuxis tries to pull aside. Parrhasius, who has deceived another painter, is thus the winner. Pliny’s story, with its assumption that art can replicate nature to deceive even the most practiced eye, was cited by later writers and picked up by the art theorists of the Renaissance.” - Martha Hollander, *An Entrance for the Eyes: Space and Meaning in Seventeenth-century Dutch Art* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2002), p. 72.

³⁶⁶ Hollander, *An Entrance for the Eyes*.

became an ersatz monumental medium (a kind of ‘fresco for the poor’ to use Emile Zola’s expression). In Koretsky’s 1939 poster, the red banner mimics the drawn back curtain in a general way, but in later Soviet posters, the heavy velvet drapery of banners or curtains became completely illusionistic (Figure 146).³⁶⁷.

The success of the ‘Kiss’ and the failure of the Bessarabia poster taught Koretsky a lesson: overloaded multi-figure compositions were less effective than posters employing one or two figures, theatrical gestures, and exaggerated facial expressions. He exploited these devices extensively in the posters he produced during the Second World War.

The iconography of Koretsky’s ‘liberation’ posters was resurrected during the second part of the war when Soviet troops started to liberate the occupied territories of the Soviet Union and move into central Europe. Soviet soldiers were shown in brotherly embraces with liberated Ukrainians, Moldovans and Byelorussians and later with Poles, Slovaks, and Czechs, all dressed in folk costumes. Hence Mikhail Solovev’s *Glory to the Liberators of Kishinev* showed a Red army soldier embracing a Moldovan patriarch in an embroidered shirt, just like Koretsky’s compositions of 1939 (Figure 147). Sometimes these creative borrowings were more complicated. Vladimir Milashevsky’s *Tallinn is Liberated* contains a uniformed soldier and a woman in national costume holding the coat of arms of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic (Figure 148). This symmetrical

³⁶⁷ The persistent passion of the socialist realist art to heavy curtains was noticed during the 1970s-1980s by the creators of Sotsart Vitaly Komar and Alex Melamid and was featured in their parody paintings mocking the soviet pictorial representation.

composition is ‘borrowed’ from Koretsky’s poster *For a Happy Youth* (1937).

The rich iconography of the liberation posters of 1944-1945 omitted kissing couples. The only use of the brotherly Slavic kiss was by Koretsky himself in his poster celebrating the liberation of Czechoslovakia, which was captioned in both Russian and Czech (Figure 149).

In 1941, the Nazi invasion of Russia took the Soviet leadership and poster artists by surprise. The first months of the war saw two types of posters emerging – both conceived to mobilize the population and inspire them to fight the invaders. One kind used the image of a mother, either symbolizing the motherland as in Irakly Toidze’s *The Motherland is Calling* or just depicting a simple old woman, sending her son into battle (Figure 150). The second type used images of heroic soldiers, workers and young people with guns, leaving for the front.

At the beginning of the war, Koretsky employed both types of imagery. His poster *Be a Hero* showed an emotional farewell and depicted a woman (mother, or wife) in a Russian headscarf, theatrically placing her palm on the breast of the departing soldier son/husband (Figure 151).

More original, although less successful, was his modification of the Constructivist device, which had been popular in the 1920s, of combining similar close-up photographs of the same face – to produce doppelgangers. Koretsky had used this technique in the early 1930s. In a sketch for an unrealized poster he had placed doppelgangers in the centre (Figure 152). By the 1940s, he had adapted this

device so that the two protagonists looked similar, but were not completely identical. Their similarities stressed their political, professional or ideological affinities. In 1941, Koretsky recycled the composition of *If War Comes Tomorrow* in the poster *The People and the Army are Invincible*, which depicts a young worker in overalls in a pose that was almost identical to that of the aged proletarian in the 1938 poster (Figure 153). Koretsky placed a uniformed soldier in front of the young man, turned in the same direction. In place of the 1938 rifle, the two men hold a long cannon shell. Koretsky used his trademark diagonal arrangement, but the unnatural staging, false heroism, and facelessness of the models produced a rather banal poster, which was typical of 1941. Nevertheless, during the late 1940s and early 1950s, Koretsky continued to use dual images of almost identical models, such as the air aces in his poster *Long Live Soviet Pilots, the Devoted Sons of our Motherland!* (1946), (Figure 154). The Soviet and East German youth in *Long Live the Friendship between People of the Soviet Union and German Democratic Republic!* (1958) also looked like twins, provoking the viewer to look for subtle differences, just as children do in the game based on comparing two pictures that otherwise look identical (Figure 155).

Koretsky's first aesthetic triumph in 1941 was *Our Forces Are Uncountable* (Figure 156). The composition's success resides in his choice of the central figure: a bearded patriarch, who is raising his hand with a machine gun. The frontal photograph of the old man, looking straight into the eyes of the viewer, was complemented by the armed masses in the lower background and the monument to Kuzma Minin and Prince Dmitry Pozharsky, the heroes of the war against

Poles in 1611-1612. The presence of the nineteenth-century statue heralded a new trend in Soviet war-time propaganda – a focus on nationalist historiography. The poster was produced at a critical moment when the Nazis were approaching Moscow. In response to the Red Army's failure to stop the German advance, sixteen divisions of people's volunteer corps were formed. Badly armed and completely untrained civilians faced the elite units of the Wehrmacht and perished trying to prevent the enemy entering Moscow.³⁶⁸ The old man repeats the gesture of Kuzma Minin, who had set up the people's volunteer corps during the Russian war with the Poles in the 17th century. The historical parallel is obvious – even the beard of the patriotic volunteer resembles the beard of the national hero. In the late 1930s, Koretsky had used similarities between the protagonist of the poster and a statue in *Greetings to the Fighters against Fascism* where the Spanish republican soldier, throwing a hand grenade, replicated the gesture of the worker in Vera Mukhina's monumental sculpture *The Worker and the Kolkhoz Woman*, which crowned the Soviet pavilion at the Paris *Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne* in 1937 (Figure 157).³⁶⁹

Koretsky's poster had another symbolic meaning. It became a counterpart to Toidze's *The Motherland Calls*, mirroring its composition and in a sense its

³⁶⁸ See *Opolchenie na zashchite Moskvy: Dokumenty i materiyaly o formirovani i boevykh deistviyakh Moskovskogo narodnogo opolcheniya v iyule 1941 – yanvare 1942 g* (Moscow: Moskovsky rabochy, 1978).

³⁶⁹ It is interesting that the fashion for the “animated statues” outlived the Second World War. The poster of Aleksandr Zhitomirsky *Peace* produced in the beginning of the 1950s was based on the similar comparison of the Mukhina statue and two figures of young people on the foreground partially replicating the gestures of the *Worker and Collective Farm Women*.

meaning – the father figure of the aged volunteer in the poster symbolized the fatherland calling its sons to arms.

Koretsky achieved his most important success in 1942. That year, the ‘propaganda of hate’ was introduced to supplement the heroic posters designed to mobilize the domestic population and the satirical posters-cartoons ridiculing the enemy. At the beginning of the war, any remnants of internationalist sentiment towards the German proletariat had been quickly forgotten, and the word *Nazi* soon became synonymous with the word ‘German’. In his 1942 article ‘Kill!’, Ilya Ehrenburg wrote, ‘We understand that the Germans are not human. From now on, the word “German” is the most horrible curse for us . . . Don’t talk. Don’t become indignant. Kill! If you don’t kill at least one German per day, your day is wasted.’³⁷⁰ The writer urged, ‘Kill a German!—an old mother is begging you. Kill a German—a child is beseeching you. Kill a German - your native land cries.’³⁷¹ Ehrenburg’s war cry, building on that of Konstantin Simonov’s May 1942 poem ‘Kill Him!’, provoked a flood of images calling on Soviet soldiers to seek revenge on Germans and exterminate them. Such images were designed to have an emotional impact. They depicted girlfriends and wives, tied, tortured, and presumably raped by the invaders; mothers with infants facing German guns; and dead and mutilated children. The erotic and sadistic connotations of such imagery were striking.³⁷²

³⁷⁰ Il’ya Erenburg, ‘Ubei!’, *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 4 July 1942, No. 173 [5236] edition.

³⁷¹ Erenburg, ‘Ubei!’.

³⁷² Soviet poster art had no earlier tradition of such voyeuristic depictions of human suffering. Graphic images of the victims of the Revolution and Civil War (including scenes of rape and torture) generally appeared exclusively in anti-Bolshevik visual propaganda.

One of the most popular posters of this type was Koretsky's photomontage *Save Us!*, which depicts a terrified woman with a child in her arms confronting a blood-stained bayonet marked with a swastika (Figure 158). The gaze of the woman is filled with hatred for the invisible Nazi soldier. Working on the poster, Koretsky experienced a practical problem. He had a perfect model for the child – Sasha, his neighbours' small son who was blond and charming. However, the model selected to be the distressed mother trying to protect her baby from Nazi brutality, failed, for some reason, to attend the photo shoot. The artist had no choice but to use Marina Nikitina, his stepdaughter, an eighteen-year-old student at Moscow State University. According to Nikitina, 'Koretsky for a long time was trying to decide whether to use my image or find another one. The woman in the poster had to symbolize a Russian mother, who is traditionally considered to be blond. I am dark-haired.'³⁷³ Finally, Koretsky decided to violate the unwritten rules concerning desirable racial types. Despite the dark (Semitic) hair of the mother depicted on the poster, the image became an instant success. On 5 August 1942 the poster was reproduced in *Pravda*. A gigantic copy was soon installed over the entrance to the Mayakovsky metro station in Moscow. *Save Us!* was constantly reprinted and the text was translated into all the languages of the USSR. By the end of the war, it had become one of the most reproduced Soviet posters; its total print run had reached 14 million copies.³⁷⁴

³⁷³ Valery Burt, 'Frontovaya madonna', *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, 29 September 2004, 38-39 (5989) edition.

³⁷⁴ Burt, 'Frontovaya madonna'.

It even featured in Nikolai Zhukov's poster *Beat Them to Death!*, which shows both Koretsky's poster and the action it provoked t (Figure 159). *Beat Them to Death!* depicts a Soviet machine gunner shooting fiercely; Koretsky's poster appears on the ruined wall behind him. Zhukov's poster was not so much a propaganda fantasy as a reflection of war's reality. Indeed, Koretsky's archive contains an anonymous photograph of a Soviet artillery battery in readiness, and posted on the tree next to the cannon is his poster of the scared mother.

The success of this composition motivated Koretsky to design other posters for the propaganda campaign 'Kill the German!' These included *Soldier, Save Me from Slavery!*, depicting the same neighbour's son Sasha, who on this occasion was transformed into a girl by the simple trick of adding plaits and a ribbon (Figure 160). The girl looks at the viewer through barbed wire, and written on a sign hanging around her neck is the name of a concentration camp and an inmate's number. Koretsky painted naturalistic tears on the child's face.

Sasha also featured in the company of a little girl in the poster *Soldier, Save these Kids from Starvation. Annihilate the German Robbers!* (Figure 161). The composition is divided into two parts containing an ugly Nazi soldier devouring a gigantic slice of bread and the two starving children. The heartless occupier is placed on the left side of the composition, surrounded by darkness. The children situated on the right are flooded with light. The emotions of the protagonists (the hatred expressed by the German and the suffering of the children) - are highly exaggerated to the point of hyperbole.

Producing posters with the intention of generating hatred caused Koretsky to retreat from his habitual neo-classicist compositions. The images of hunger, murder and rape were targeted at Soviet soldiers fighting at the front. The depiction of suffering, therefore, had to be realistic and convincing. Slowly the posters of this type became like faked snapshots, more reminiscent of news photography than painting. At the same time, the violence of the images increased enormously.

The poster *Death to the Infanticides!* shows Koretsky's attempt to mimic news photography (Figure 162). The poster depicts a dead girl, still holding her doll, lying on the wooden floor of a Russian house in the country. The door is open. The viewer can only see the heavy boot of the Nazi soldier, who is just leaving (to make the message clear, Koretsky decorated the heel of the boot with a swastika). The floor and the sole of the boot are covered in blood.

Death to the Infanticides! was relatively popular and frequently reprinted, but Koretsky's poster *Sailor! Save Your Dear Girl from the Disgusting Vipers!* was less successful (Figure 163). Published by the Navy's Main Political Department in 1943, it depicted the back of a bald Nazi officer with a whip in his hand approaching a scared blond girl pressing herself against a wall. The girl is terrified and, her white shirt is torn. The artist was clearly representing a rape scene. The target audience for the poster is indicated by the presence on the wall of a photograph of a brave Soviet sailor, the victim's boyfriend, flanked by snapshots

of frigates. The voyeurism of this composition was apparently too excessive even for the standards of the time, and it was not reprinted either during or after the war.

Koretsky was not the only artist involved in producing what could be defined as S&M propaganda pornography. He was merely following a trend. Depictions of Nazi brutality include Viktor Deni's *Kill the Fascist-Monster* which contrasts a hanged, long-haired beauty with the ugly, lustful face of a Nazi officer; and Viktor Ivanov's *Soldier, We Are Waiting for You Day and Night!*, in which weeping young women in torn prison clothes call out to soldiers from behind the bars of Nazi dungeons (Figures 164-165). The artists of the TASS Windows made a substantial contribution to this type of propaganda repeatedly depicting abused women and mutilated infants. Examples include posters by Pavel Sokolov-Skalya *Brother, Save Us!*; Kukryniksy (the collective name of Mikhail Kuptiyanov, Porfiry Krylov and Nikolai Sokolov) *Kill him!*; and Viktor Sokolov *Monsters* (Figures 166 – 168). Such posters often openly appropriated Christian iconography, as in Fedor Antonov's *Mother*, which imitates traditional depictions of the Holy family (Figure 169).

Some of these compositions were thematically and iconographically close to Koretsky's works. For example, his *Save Us!* is similar to *German Bestiality* by Nikolai Khristenko created the year before, or *Save Us!* by Vladimir Goryaev produced one month after the triumphant release of Koretsky's poster (Figures 170 – 171).

The composition of Koretsky's 'snapshot' poster *Death to the Infanticides!* is close to Viktor Vasiliev and Yurii Pimenov's *We will have our Revenge!* which was released before it and possibly inspired Koretsky's poster (Figure 172).

Such borrowings were typical of the Soviet visual propaganda industry during the war. Motifs and topics were constantly being recycled by different artists in different media. Sometimes this amounted to pure plagiarism, but in other instances a definite creative element was involved in the reworking. For example, in November 1941, Viktor Ivanov produced the poster *Death to the German Occupiers!*, which depicted a brave defender of Moscow bayoneting a Nazi soldier (Figure 173). Two years later, Pavel Sokolov-Skalya released *We Are Putting Pressure on the Enemy!*, which more or less copied Ivanov's design (Figure 174). That same year, Koretsky designed *Soldier, the Motherland is Waiting for this Day*, which used Ivanov's main idea, but introduced substantial changes (Figure 175).

Koretsky's images of hatred proved to be among the most successful and popular examples of this kind of poster. His success was rooted in the illusionistic power of the photograph, and the 'trustworthiness' of the medium, which allegedly reproduced and did not create reality. Photographs of suffering, rape and death proved to be more convincing than painted versions, even if the images only

depicted the simulated and exaggerated suffering of models in a photographic studio.³⁷⁵

In the second half of 1943, Koretsky began to return to the calculated composition which relied more on classical painting than on the accidental qualities of the photographic snapshot. He again concentrated on Poussin - like gestures and theatrical expressions. A typical composition of this period is *Glory to the 'Young Guards' of Krasnodon!*, which was dedicated to the underground organization of inexperienced young people, active in the Nazi-occupied town of Krasnodon in Ukraine (Figure 176). The group had been discovered by the Gestapo and mercilessly executed. After the liberation of Krasnodon, the murdered fighters, who had been led by Communist Party officials, instantly became communist martyrs and perfect candidates for Soviet beatification.³⁷⁶

Koretsky created one of the first heroic images of the *Young Guards* in Soviet culture. His rather dry and staged composition centred on a young man sticking a

³⁷⁵ The wartime avalanche of hatred continued unabated until April 14, 1945, when it was interrupted by a Call to retreat issued by Georgy Aleksandrov, the head of the Central Committee's Department of Agitation and Propaganda. His article in that day's issue of *Pravda* (Georgy Aleksandrov, 'Tovarishch Erenburg uproshchaet', *Pravda*, 14 April 1945, No. 89 (9860) edition) signalled a shift in political direction. Aleksandrov informed the newspaper's readers that Stalin never identified "Hitler's clique with the German people," and that "our ideas don't include the annihilation of the German people." It was a bit late for such backpedalling—the burning of Königsberg and the looting of Budapest had already occurred, and the eastern part of Germany was behind Soviet lines. Indeed, the rape of Berlin, which would start in May, was already a foregone conclusion at this point.

³⁷⁶ Such beatification however proved to be quite rocky. The novel of Aleksandr Fadeev, dedicated to the Krasnodon underground published in 1945 was extremely popular and turned into a film in 1948. However the book was criticized by Stalin for the absence of the sufficient demonstration of the party leadership. The author had to re-write the book. The second corrected addition was published in 1951 – see: Dmitry Shepilov, *The Kremlin's Scholar: a Memoir of Soviet Politics Under Stalin and Krushchev* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 184.

leaflet onto a wall. The background showed a corner, a dusky street, a silhouette of a man hanged on a lamppost, and a Nazi sentry guarding the victim. The expression on the face of the young underground fighter, his gesture, and the entire composition reek of artificial theatricality. Koretsky had abandoned the faked snapshot, and returned to a classical treatment of the heroic, in the style of Nicholas Poussin's paintings.

During the final years of the war, this classical approach tended to become more dominant. By 1944, the fairly old woman, who had symbolised the motherland in 1941, had gradually been replaced by a much younger goddess of victory along with laurel wreathes, chariots of victory, and other attributes of Roman triumphs, as envisaged by seventeenth-century European painters. Bizarrely, these traditional images now became incorporated into Soviet posters. Although the classical heritage had been exploited earlier, it was now used more explicitly. These borrowings were often little more than plagiarism, as in the case of *A New Year - New Victories* by Daniil Cherkes, which simply appropriated the composition of the famous relief *La Marseillaise*, which the French academic sculptor François Rude had made for the *Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile* in Paris (Figures 177 - 178). In 1944-1945, antiquated classicist symbols were used extensively. In 1944 Koretsky depicted the 'Motherland-Nika', a combination of a Russian woman in a headscarf and the goddess of victory, extending a laurel wreath over the heads of stern looking soldiers advancing towards the enemy (Figure 179). The faces of the soldiers express concentration and determination, while the face of the mother-goddess shows no emotion. The models Koretsky

used imitated statues rather than real people. The static and sculptural qualities of the image, the waving military banners, and the classical gesture of the mother-goddess, produce a symbol of glory which has transformed the poster's composition into a hierarchical space loaded with symbols. In 1942, Daniil Cherkes translated the sculptural language of Rude's relief into a loosely painted poster. In 1944, Koretsky transformed his photomontage into the image of a living sculpture.

As usual, Koretsky was in tune with the trends of the times. As the end of the war approached, Soviet posters increasingly became less focused on the specific political and ideological messages connected with everyday events. By 1944, the topicality of posters was visibly waning, giving way to typical Socialist Realist compositions, not altogether different from the traditional imagery of painting. Posters increasingly addressed 'timeless' topics, such as the army's victorious advance or heroic work on the home front, and employed clichés not connected to actual events, but rather belonging to the corpus of images - mantras of Soviet visual culture in general and agitprop in particular.

In 1944, Osip Brik, the literary editor of the TASS Windows studio and previously one of the leading theorists of the avant-garde group *LEF* [Left Front of the Arts], published an essay 'Painting has gone out into the Street.'³⁷⁷ It appeared in the prestigious literary magazine *The Banner* [*Znamya*] and did not merely present the meditations of a former champion of radical art, who was now

³⁷⁷ Osip Brik, 'Kartina vyshla na ulitsu', *Znamya*, No. 2, 1944, pp. 187–191.

involved in official propaganda. Instead, the text sought to protect the TASS studio, and thus Brik's own post in the operation, which by the second half of 1944 was precarious. The article concentrated on the TASS Windows' posters, but also included theorizing about poster art in general. For Brik, poster art's constant manipulation of the same repertoire of images was a major limitation. He considered that the inventiveness of true poster artists resided in their ability to discover new variations of images, rejecting 'minor, topical details' and creating a 'generalized poster' in order to locate 'universal images' in topicality.³⁷⁸

Koretsky was a master of such 'generalized' posters. He only produced a very small number of topical compositions devoted to the events of the day. Even when he was dealing with events like the occupation of Western Belorussia in 1939, or the underground activities of the '*Young Guards*', he usually tried to transform them into 'universal images.' This concern to create propaganda for 'all times' proved to be quite handy – the same image could be used for different posters with different messages. For example, in 1943 Koretsky devised a poster depicting typical Russian peasants – an old bearded man, his wife, and granddaughter in the interior of a log house (Figure 180).³⁷⁹ Smiling peasants were hanging a portrait of comrade Stalin on the wall. Through the little window, marching columns of Soviet troops were visible. The caption expressed gratitude

³⁷⁸ Brik, 'Kartina vyshla na ulitsu', p. 189. It is interesting that such a vision of the "generalized poster" and "universal image" completely contradicted Brik's own opinions expressed in 1924, when the theoretician stated that, "It is impossible to treat short range topic using devices designed for the long existence. It is impossible to construct one day thing for centuries." Osip Brik, 'Ot kartiny k shtsu', *LEF*, No. 2, 1924, p. 27.

³⁷⁹ The images of the old couple and the interior of the hut are instantly calling to mind the famous photograph of Arkady Shaikhet *Light Bulb in a Hut* (1925). Arkadij Schaichet, *Pionier Sowjetischer Photographie* (Cologne: Galerie Alex Lachmann, 1995), p. 32.

to Stalin, ‘the organizer of our struggle’.³⁸⁰ When the same poster was reprinted in 1945, it had a shorter caption. It still glorified Stalin, but this time called him ‘the great organizer of our victory’ (Figure 181) to contemporary requirements. The marching infantry columns had become blossoming trees. The portrait of Stalin was changed too. In 1943, the leader was depicted according to the standards of pre-war iconography, wearing a modest paramilitary jacket appropriate for the ‘organizer of the struggle’. In the 1945 poster, the portrait corresponds to post-war iconography – Stalin is dressed in the full military uniform of a generalissimo, his chest decorated with rows of medals. The ‘organizer of the struggle’ had become ‘the great organizer of our victory.’

Koretsky continued to exploit the timeless quality of his creations as late as the 1960s-1980s, when he started to recycle his own compositions from the 1930s and 1940s.

After the war, Koretsky, like many other Soviet poster artists found himself in a state of confusion, as a result of the rapid changes in propaganda directives and a certain shortage of subjects. This crisis was noticed by critics, like Fedorov-Davydov who observed that the transition to peacetime topics ‘was a difficult and complicated process for poster artists. In the beginning, many of them were taken aback by the new task. Their first posters agitating for the speedy reconstruction

³⁸⁰ “On the joyful day of liberation from the yoke of the German occupiers the first words of limitless gratitude and love of Soviet people are addressed to our friend and father comrade Stalin, the organizer of our struggle for freedom and independence of our motherland.”

of cities and villages destroyed during the war proved to be of inferior quality in comparison to their war-time posters.’³⁸¹

Koretsky did not escape this crisis. He was a highly respected artist. In 1946 he was awarded the Stalin prize, the highest award for Soviet ‘cultural workers’, but the transition from war-time propaganda to post-war visual agitation was not easy for him. Unlike most poster artists, Koretsky faced an additional difficulty – the old good Constructivist model of the photomontage poster composed of black and white images and colour elements reduced to backgrounds or certain unimportant details did not work anymore. Colour was in vogue, so alongside the complicated retouching of photographic images in order to ‘generalize’ them and make them virtually unrecognizable, the artist started to colour his creations by hand. This happened at the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s, when colour photography was already a common illustrative device in the mass media of the West.

During the initial post-war years, the art of Viktor Koretsky tended to ossify, comprising a strange hodgepodge of practically defaced photographic images well hidden under layers of paint.

Being a celebrity and occupying a high position in the Soviet art world, Koretsky was entrusted with the task of producing posters glorifying Stalin. One of them,

Through Days Dark and Stormy where Great Lenin Led Us

³⁸¹ Fedorov-Davydov, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky*, p. 16.

Our Eyes Saw the Bright Sun of Freedom above

and Stalin Our leader with Faith in the People,

*Inspired us to Build up the Land that We Love*³⁸²,

was based on a favourite device, which the artist had developed in the second half of the 1930s. Behind the aged Stalin, Koretsky depicted the statue of Lenin by Sergei Merkulov, installed in a niche in the Hall of the Meetings of the Supreme Council in the Kremlin (Figure 182). The presence of the ‘holy ghost’, represented by the gigantic marble statue, added to the poster’s desirable monumentality.

Koretsky used an official photograph of Stalin by Ivan Shagin. Shagin’s portrait was frequently reproduced and became a part of the official iconography of the Soviet leader. Like every photographic portrait of Stalin published in the USSR, it was heavily retouched. Koretsky apparently added his own retouching to this. The smooth face and the static character of the composition made Stalin seem like a second sculpture. His passive, mask-like visage was echoed in the background by the white, marble face of Lenin. This ideological icon was hailed by the critics as a striking manifestation of monumentality introduced into poster art. Fedorov-Davydov admired, ‘the use of sculpture for a dual purpose - for developing the narrative and for adding a heroic monumentality to the artistic solution.’³⁸³ The critic tried to justify using the term ‘monumentality’ in relation to an applied art like poster design, since the term was usually reserved for painting:

³⁸² A line from the Soviet anthem of 1944. Lyrics of El Registan and Sergei Mikhalkov.

³⁸³ Fedorov-Davydov, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky*, p. 24. The only possible “development of the plot” in Koretsky’s poster which was achieved by the appearance of the marble Lenin on the background was visualization of the slogan “Stalin is Lenin today.”

It seems strange to talk about monumentality in connection with a poster. But the whole point is that real monumentality, as we understand it, is the importance and significance of the topic, monumentality of those ideas and feelings, which are expressed in the artistic creation. At the same time, it is the high degree of artistic generalization and the synthetic character of the image in which the particular and singular are transformed into the universal. Such monumentality, to a certain degree, could be characteristic for any type of art, including the poster.³⁸⁴

Fedorov-Davydov's attempt to advocate monumentality as a feature of poster art served two purposes. Firstly, it elevated the applied art of creating propaganda to the level of the only recognized form of high art – painting. Secondly, it served to attack the 'formalists' who during the 1930s were trying to explain that the poster art is different to easel painting and has its own rules. According to the critic, the victory of painting, the queen of arts, heralded the victory of socialist realism:

The adoption of a free painterly manner, the ability to overcome the opposition to painting, the rejection of xylography and the return to free drawing were extremely useful for the graphic arts. An even more productive development for poster artists was when they turned their attention to the successes of the main genre of the Soviet visual art – painting. Rejecting an obscurantist understanding of 'graphic nature,' poster-flatness and the conventionality of the image, mastering realistic drawing and realistic spatial composition gave poster artists the chance to

³⁸⁴ Fedorov-Davydov, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky*, p. 25.

overcome the schematic image, to reach that profundity, vitality and insight that constitute the main merits of the contemporary poster, including posters by Koretsky.³⁸⁵

Fedorov-Davydov perfectly described the scale of values established in Soviet art by the mid-1940s. Painting remained the highest art, and its 'low' sisters, such as the graphic arts and the poster had no other option, but to mimic it.

Koretsky was a recognized and honoured socialist realist artist, but he was still working with questionable raw material – photographs. Just using them was tainted with 'formalism.' The only way to avoid that association, once and for all, was not just to mimic painting, but to become a painter. In his evaluation of Koretsky's art, Fedorov-Davydov stated, 'Despite the fact that in the process of his work he is using photography, the very method of his work with the image and his artistic interpretation of it are rooted in painting and free drawing. There is no doubt, that the more he uses the achievements of painting, the more often he employs drawing, the more perfect will be his art.'³⁸⁶

Viktor Koretsky followed the advice of the eminent art historian and critic. He had started to hide the photographic elements of his montage pictures under heavy layers of retouching long before Fedorov-Davydov wrote his text. From the late 1930s onwards, one of Koretsky's main tasks was to combat the objectivity of the camera lens, erasing such traces of reality as the wrinkles on Stalin's face, and

³⁸⁵ Fedorov-Davydov, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky*, p. 26.

³⁸⁶ Fedorov-Davydov, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky*.

reinstating lost buttons on the tunics of the shock-workers. Slowly the old and dignified art of retouching photographs, practised in the provincial photographic studios of Imperial Russia, became a tool of political censorship³⁸⁷ and visual beautification. Another of Koretsky's functions was no less important - to improve reality by eliminating annoying details, which was as essential as removing Trotsky or Bukharin from historical photographs. The next stage after such total retouching could be only repainting.

Koretsky explained his creative method, 'I understood that it was necessary to take special shots according to all the rules of the stage in order to obtain a figure with an image ... and for this reason we called for the support of actors. This is natural since actors are able to embody the image imagined by the artist convincingly. This is how the majority of my posters were designed, most particularly the ones conceived as a single scene, uniting several characters in a single action. If an easel painting is a result of many preliminary studies transformed into a harmonious entity through composition, a photo-poster is more often based on several photographic studies, taken according to play scripts. I am profoundly convinced that the photographic poster possesses all the qualities necessary to create a synthetic image of a hero.'³⁸⁸

Koretsky did not admit that before the photographic sessions he usually made pencil sketches of the compositions he wanted to stage. Fedorov-Davydov

³⁸⁷ See: King, *The Commissar Vanishes*.

³⁸⁸ Galina Snitkovskaya, *Viktor Koretsky* (Moscow: Planeta, 1984), p. 7. (Quoted in Marcade, 'Photomontage as Experiment and Agitprop', p. 17.)

correctly noticed that although ‘Koretsky uses photography in his work and creates his images with its help, his method of working is no different to the method of the graphic artist. He starts from a sketch executed as a drawing, like any other poster artist.’³⁸⁹ Many of these sketches survive in the artist’s archive (Figure 183).

Jean-Claude Marcadé wrote, ‘The originality of Victor Koretsky’s polygraphic art comes from the fact that he uses his own photographs in his montages.’³⁹⁰

Koretsky, indeed, mainly used photographic images staged by him. Like other montage artists such as John Heartfield and Gustavs Klucis, he often borrowed the photographic elements he needed from various sources, ranging from the official iconography of the Soviet leadership to Western illustrated magazines. He also used photographs that he staged and then improved them, but it is highly unlikely that he actually took the photographs himself. In the artist’s archive, a few retouched and repainted photographs have survived. They reveal Koretsky’s approach to generalizing the image – the photographs are either covered in pencil strokes or painted over (Figures 184-185).

The artist did everything in his power to subordinate photography to painting and to force it to work according the laws of high art. Already during the war, images of Koretsky’s photomontage posters were translated into the traditional medium of the painted or stencilled poster. Sometimes it happened without the artist’s consent, as with the gigantic painted version of his poster *Save Us*, which was

³⁸⁹ Fedorov-Davydov, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky*, p. 23.

³⁹⁰ Marcadé, ‘Photomontage as Experiment and Agitprop’, p. 17.

installed over the entrance of Moscow's Mayakovsky metro station. In other instances, the artist himself wanted to transform his photomontage compositions into conventional posters. For example, his montage depicting a nurse saving a wounded soldier was released as a stencilled poster by TASS Windows (Figures 186 - 187).³⁹¹ Changing the staged photographic images into painted ones hardly improved their quality.

Epilogue

During the 1950s-1960s, Koretsky increasingly removed himself from photography to become a conventional poster artist. Koretsky's productivity remained very high during the post war years. During the 1970s and 1980s, he sometimes returned to photomontage, which he chiefly used for satirical propaganda against Israel, South Africa, and the United States (Figures 188 - 190). His satirical posters betray the strong influence of Aleksandr Zhytomirsky. However the main corpus of Koretsky's works included conventionally painted compositions. During the 1930s, Koretsky mimicked the compositional devices and style of Gustavs Klucis, in his painterly posters he fell under the spell of Boris Prorokov, an important poster artist and painter of the period. Koretsky continued to use pseudo-religious imagery (despite the fact that the political religion of Soviet communism was approaching its demise) and often recycled his own compositions from the 1930s-1940s. For example, his 1965 poster *Stable Peace for the Earth!* simply re-used the compositional structure of his 1936 poster *It is Our Last and Decisive Battle*, transposing it into conventional painting (Figure

³⁹¹ *Members of the Red Cross, We Will Not Live Wounded and Their Arms on the Battle Field*, 14 June 1942, TASS Window 487.

191). Such examples could be multiplied. The iconography of Soviet propaganda of the 1930s was endlessly repeated in different media until the fall of the Soviet Union.

Viktor Koretsky had a long life.³⁹² During the 1990s, he dedicated himself to painting. Ironically, although he had been one of the leading producers of Soviet anti-Zionist propaganda during the 1960s-1980s, he spent his final years painting biblical prophets with gigantic eyes (Figure 192). His canvases recalled the works of the fashionable painter Ilya Glazunov, although the latter's Slavic princes and knights had turned into David and Moses. Shortly before his death, Koretsky wanted to donate his canvas *Moses on the Bank of the Red Sea* to the state of Israel – the land of his forefathers.³⁹³ The last champion of Soviet photomontage and the author of rabid anti-Israeli posters died as a painter and concerned Jew.

³⁹² Viktor Koretsky died in 1998.

³⁹³ Maya Nemirovskaya, 'Nesbyvshayasya mehta', *Lekhaim*, 2000
<<http://www.lechaim.ru/ARHIV/99/nemirovskaya.htm>> [accessed 14 December 2011].

Chapter 4: Making Soviet Heartfields.

In 1931 John Heartfield visited the Soviet Union for the first time. His trip provoked an impressive amount of publicity, including an announcement in the Russian press that he was going to help redesign the display at the Moscow Museum of the Revolution.³⁹⁴ In fact, Heartfield did not undertake any such task, but he was involved in preparing an exhibition *The Imperialist War and the February Revolution*, producing two books for Neue Deutscher Verlag, and selecting a show of Soviet photographs to be shown in Vienna.³⁹⁵

Heartfield visited Odessa, Batumi and Baku in connection with work for an issue of *USSR in Construction*.³⁹⁶ There he gave several lectures and was treated like a celebrity. Until this trip, his name was not widely known in the USSR, although the magazine *Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung* [AIZ] in which he published his work was on sale at Soviet news-stands.³⁹⁷ His montages were on show at the Moscow exhibition of the *All-Russian Cooperative of Artists* [VseKoKhudozhnik] between December 1931 and January 1932.³⁹⁸ The following June, his work was displayed

³⁹⁴ 'Vashe mnenie of Khartfil'de, tovarishch Kish?', *Brigada khudozhnikov*, No. 4, 1931, p. 25.

³⁹⁵ John Heartfield, 'Privet brat'yam po klassu', *Sovetskoe Iskusstvo*, 1931, p. 2.

³⁹⁶ 'SSSR na Stroike', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 2, 1931.

³⁹⁷ The magazine was financed by Mezhrabpom (International workers aid), of the Comintern.

³⁹⁸ L. P., 'Za proletarsky khudozhestvennyi metod fotomontazha. Dzhon Khartfil'd peredovoi fotomontazh mira', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 3, 1932, pp. 14–15.; Hubertus Gassner, 'Heartfield's Moscow Apprenticeship. 1931-1932', in *John Heartfield*, ed. by Peter Pachnicke and Klaus Honnef (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1992), p. 257.

at an exhibition, arranged by the October [*Oktyabr*] group in a pavilion in Gorky Park, in conjunction with the highly charged discussion about photomontage then taking place at the Communist Academy [*Komakademiya*].³⁹⁹

Heartfield's visit took place at a highly significant moment. In early 1931 the Central Committee of the Communist Party adopted a Decree concerning poster and fine art production⁴⁰⁰, which attacked publishing houses that had issued 'an impressive percentage of anti-Soviet posters and pictures'.⁴⁰¹ The decree, which was intended to stop the sloppy production of posters and *lubki* (popular prints), marked the beginning of a wider discussion about poster art in general and photomontage in particular. His visit also coincided with a campaign (orchestrated by conservative artists) against the October group and especially against figures like Gustavs Klucis, and his collaborators Valentina Kulagina, Sergei Senkin and Vasily Elkin. In the ensuing discussions, these artists were heavily criticized for their 'fetishisation of montage',⁴⁰² their attempts to substitute photomontage for

³⁹⁹ Brandon Taylor stated that Heartfield, 'exhibited alongside Klucis with the October group in June'. (Brandon Taylor, 'Montage and Its Comedies', *Oxford Art Journal*, 16, No. 2 (1993), p. 94.). Actually, the exhibition in Gorky Park was really a small display put on in connection with the discussion about montage and cannot be defined as a show of the October group. Apart from montages by Klucis, his followers, and Heartfield, it included Western film posters produced using photomontage. See 'Formiryushcheesya isskustvo fotomontazha. Diskussiia v Komakademii', *Brigada khudozhnikov*, No. 5-6, 1931, p. 17.

⁴⁰⁰ 'Postanovlenie TsK VKP(b) o plakatno-kartinnoi produktsii. (Ot 11 Marta 1931 G.)', in *Sovetskoe iskusstvo Za 15 let: Materialy i dokumentatsiya*, ed. by I. Matsa (Moscow, Leningrad: OGIZ-IZOGIZ, 1933), pp. 634–644.

⁴⁰¹ 'Chto znamenuet i kak vypolnyaetsia reshenie Leninskogo shtaba? Postanovlenie TsK VKP (b) o plakatno-kartinnoi agitatsii i propagande', *Brigada khudozhnikov*, No. 2-3, 1931, pp. 1–3.

⁴⁰² 'Kommunisticheskaya akademiia o plakate', *Brigada khudozhnikov*, No. 2-3, 1931, p. 4.

painting⁴⁰³, their fragmentation of images, the banality of their compositional devices, and other sins.⁴⁰⁴

The assault against Klucis is not surprising. What is surprising is that John Heartfield's name became the battle cry for Klucis' adversaries, who favoured Heartfield's approach to montage over the 'formalist' practice of the Constructivist. In reviewing catalogues and books about John Heartfield, Brandon Taylor analysed the first trip of the famous *photomonteur* to the USSR in 1931, and wrote 'A question therefore arises whether Heartfield was aware of being used against the artistic left in Russia in the early 1930s, and if he was, what he might have done to support them - the sort of question that is virtually impossible to answer'.⁴⁰⁵ It is difficult to believe that Heartfield was not conscious of the discussion, which developed in his presence. He probably would not have wanted to support 'the artistic left' and especially Klucis, who in his public speeches demonstrated a barely concealed animosity towards Heartfield.⁴⁰⁶ The reason for the conflict centred on the vital issue of who actually invented the technique of photomontage.

In April 1931, the magazine *The Artists' Brigade* [*Brigada khudozhnikov*] published an interview with the well-known, left-wing Czech journalist Egon

⁴⁰³ L. Ryabinkin, 'Protiv chuzhdykh teorii o plakate', *Za proletarskoe iskusstvo*, No. 5, 1932, p. 3.

⁴⁰⁴ Vladimir Kostin, 'Fotomontazh i mekhanisticheskie oshibki "Oktyabrya"', *Za proletarskoe iskusstvo*, No. 7-8, 1932, pp. 18-21.

⁴⁰⁵ Taylor, 'Montage and Its Comedies'.

⁴⁰⁶ However, private relations between Klucis and Heartfield remained amicable. Gassner, 'Heartfield's Moscow Apprenticeship. 1931-1932', p. 263.

Erwin Kisch, subtitled ‘What is your Opinion of Heartfield, comrade Kisch?’⁴⁰⁷

An editorial announcement stated that, ‘When the issue was in press, we received news of Heartfield’s arrival in Moscow’, and was evidently added at the last moment and put vertically on the left margin of the page. It clearly indicated the celebrity status of the German visitor. Kisch was also not shy in praising his Berlin friend. He wrote:

I believe that John Heartfield is one of the greatest artists of contemporary reality. Despite the gigantic quantity of imitators (one half of all American book art is created and exists by virtue of his ideas), nobody can surpass him. He was completely original at the beginning of the invention of this medium as well as now in its further improvement and development.⁴⁰⁸

Kisch grossly exaggerated Heartfield’s influence on American graphic design of the 1930s, but mentioning the distant land of modernity added credibility to the modernist method of montage practised by the artist.⁴⁰⁹ When asked by the interviewer whether Heartfield had invented photomontage, Kish replied that, ‘He not only invented photomontage, but he also coined the term’.⁴¹⁰ In the eyes of the Soviet artistic community, Heartfield had one fault - he had started as a Dadaist. Asked about the Dadaist past of the *photomonteur*, Kish without

⁴⁰⁷ ‘Vashe Mnenie of Khartfil’de, Tovarishch Kish?’, p. 25.

⁴⁰⁸ ‘Vashe Mnenie of Khartfil’de, Tovarishch Kish?’.

⁴⁰⁹ See Sally Stein, “‘Good Fences Make Good Neighbors’: American Photomontage Between the Wars’, in *Montage and Modern Life. 1919 – 1942*, ed. by Matthew Teitelbaum (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, Boston Institute of Contemporary Art, 1992).

⁴¹⁰ ‘Vashe mnenie of Khartfil’de, tovarishch Kish?’, p. 25.

hesitation equated him to Mayakovsky, whom the journalist believed was also a Dadaist.⁴¹¹

The first open clash about who invented montage took place during the discussion at the Communist Academy in June. In his speech 'Photomontage in the service of agitation and propaganda', Klucis developed his idea that there were two lines of discovery and development of the technique. For him, the first line was represented by Dadaism and Expressionism, which, 'in their absolute negation of all principles arrived at the advertising poster, based on devious tricks'.⁴¹² The other line was represented by Soviet photomontage, which emerged in 1919 and had by 1924 turned into a genuine socialist political art form. Klucis' speech was not very different from his article 'Photomontage as a New Type of Agitation Art' [*Fotomontazh kak novyi vid agitatsionnogo iskusstva*], which was published in the collection of articles by the October group, entitled *The Visual Art Front* [*Izofront*].⁴¹³ In the article, Klucis not only repeated his attack on Dadaism, but also explained the historical primacy of the Soviet method:

The second line arose independently on Soviet soil. This is agitational and political photomontage, which developed its own methods, principles and

⁴¹¹ Hubertus Gassner described this episode in the following way: 'Although according to Kisch, Heartfield adopted his working method from Dadaism, he used it to serve the 'class struggle' by visual contrasting social conflicts and thus pointing out the 'revolutionary necessity'. By asserting Heartfield's bias, Kisch dismissed the Russian interviewer's trick question as to whether 'John Heartfield's art originated in Dadaism'. See Gassner, 'Heartfield's Moscow Apprenticeship. 1931-1932', p. 256. It is unclear why Gassner omitted comparison of Heartfield and Mayakovsky made by Kisch - it was quite important in the Soviet context.

⁴¹² 'Formiryiushcheesya isskustvo fotomontazha', p. 17.

⁴¹³ Gustav Klutsis, 'Fotomontazh kak novyi vid agitatsionnogo iskusstva', in *Izofront. Klassovaya bor'ba*, ed. by Peter Novitsky (Moscow, Leningrad: OGIZ-IZOGIZ, 1931), pp. 119-132.

laws of construction. In the end it attained the complete right to be called a new type of mass art - the art of socialist construction.

This type of photomontage had a decisive influence on the communist press in Germany (Heartfield and Tschichold) and other countries, which adopted this method for the design of mass literature.⁴¹⁴

Klucis' attempt to stress the secondary character of Heartfield's work did not convince all participants at the discussion. Faik Tagirov, a young, but already well-known Tatar graphic designer and photomontage artist, believed that Heartfield, and not Klucis, was the real creator of the medium. He not only expressed admiration for the high quality of Heartfield's works, but also suggested that German photomontage artists be invited to teach in Soviet art schools.⁴¹⁵ Senkin disagreed with Tagirov, arguing that the discovery of photomontage happened not because of the efforts of 'individual masters', but because 'gigantic social changes called this effective art into existence'.⁴¹⁶ Closing the discussion, Klucis stated that he did not share comrade Tagirov's opinions about the need to adopt the methods of Western photomontage (i.e. Heartfield's approach) because Soviet montage had developed independently, according to the guidelines of the Communist Party and remains at 'the front line in the construction of socialism'.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁴ Klucis, 'Fotomontazh kak novyi vid agitatsionnogo iskusstva', p. 119.

⁴¹⁵ 'Formiryushcheesya isskustvo fotomontazha', p. 118.

⁴¹⁶ 'Formiryushcheesya isskustvo fotomontazha', p. 118.

⁴¹⁷ 'Formiryushcheesya isskustvo fotomontazha', p. 118.

The battle for primacy was not decided during the discussion at the Communist Academy. A year later, Vladimir Kostin, an art critic who had defected from the October group to its principal adversary, the Revolutionary Association of Proletarian Artists [*Revolutsionnaya assotsiatsiya proletarskikh khudozhnikov* – known as RAPKh] attacked Klucis on the pages of RAPKh’s magazine *For Proletarian Art* [*Za proletarskoe iskusstvo*].⁴¹⁸ His denunciation of the montage practice of October was based on a comparison of works by Heartfield and Klucis. Kostin tried to have the last word in the debate about who invented photomontage:

We still have people who are fond of debating the issue of who ‘discovered’ or ‘invented’ photomontage. We believe that such discussions are pointless and not worthy of attention. Obviously, photomontage appeared as a very understandable desire to exploit the rich possibilities of photography in publishing, exhibition display, and advertising. The bourgeoisie, for quite a long time, presumably ‘earlier than others’, used it in advertising posters. On the other hand, in Germany the revolutionary artist Heartfield stated that a photomontage made by him in 1919 was used as a conspiratorial letter sent from the front. Our photomontage appeared for the first time in 1919 as a purely formal experiment by so-called ‘left’ artists.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁸ RAPKh in that moment was a serious political force. The association established in 1931 united members of AKhR (Association of the Artists of Revolution), OMAKhR (Union of Youth of Association of the Artists of Revolution), and *OKhS* (Society of Amateur Artists.) From the first days of its existence RAPKh was leading a campaign of the cleansing of rows of proletarian artists for the ‘bourgeois’ elements, which became a prelude to the later struggle against formalism.

⁴¹⁹ Kostin, ‘Fotomontazh i mekhanisticheskie oshibki “Oktyabrya”’, p. 18.

Kostin was the first Soviet author to publish the story about the photomontage letters sent by Heartfield from the front.⁴²⁰ The critic seems to have been unaware that Heartfield had never been at the front, had only spent one year in the German army, and had managed to avoid protracted military service during the First World War, by feigning a mental breakdown. He could not have sent a ‘conspiratorial letter’ in 1919 because he was released from the army in 1915 and the war had ended in November 1918. Nevertheless, the apocryphal montage letter enabled Kostin to arrive at a broad conclusion:

We have to stress that the principal difference in the genesis of photomontage here and in Germany affects the contemporary situation. On the one hand, there is the art [of photomontage] which developed as a figurative method for transmitting thoughts and ideas and in its very genesis, possessed a political character (critical letters from the front); on the other hand, there are the formalist tricks of artists of the ‘*LEF*,’ period who found in photography merely a new type of texture [*faktura*] and a new way to complicate both the composition and the content of a work.⁴²¹

Kostin accused Klucis of fragmenting images, and of being unable to depict movement by using ‘random pieces of photographs’.⁴²² Some of his criticisms sound like an ideological denunciation: Klucis was too involved in positive propaganda so failed to show any resistance to the ‘ideological enemy’. Some

⁴²⁰ In 1935, the story about montage letters sent from the front, though now not by Heartfield but by German soldiers, was repeated by Sergei Tret’yakov in his article ‘Fotomontazhi khudozhnika-bolshevika’, *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 12, 1935, p. 3. He also included the story in his book on the photomonteur. See Sergei Tret’yakov, *Dzhon Hartfield. Monographia* (Moscow: OGIZ, 1936).

⁴²¹ Kostin, ‘Fotomontazh i mekhanisticheskie oshibki “Oktyabrya”’, p. 18.

⁴²² Kostin, ‘Fotomontazh i mekhanisticheskie oshibki “Oktyabrya”’, p. 20.

claims by Kostin, however, were well founded. Kostin asserted that all of Klucis' posters were constructed according to the same method - 'a slogan, a blown-up photograph, one not blown-up photograph, and a large plane of colour'.⁴²³

In contrast, Kostin praised Heartfield's lively images for 'arising from a dialectical understanding of reality',⁴²⁴ which was alien to the sketchiness and fragmentation of Constructivist montage production. For Kostin, 'The group around Klucis adjusts photographs to the topic. In Heartfield's works, the photograph and the theme are inseparably linked to each other'.⁴²⁵

The illustrations to Kostin's article followed the trend established by *The Artists' Brigade* in October 1931, when it compared reproductions of Klucis's montages, which were accused of 'overloading materials and stereotypical construction' with Heartfield's montages, which were characterized by 'simplicity, purity, and legibility'.⁴²⁶ However, *For Proletarian Art* did not include any detailed explanatory captions for the posters of Klucis and Elkin or for Heartfield's photomontages, explaining the negative qualities of the Constructivist montage and superiority of the 'dialectical understanding of reality' typical for the German artist. Presumably, it was not necessary - everything had been said in the article.⁴²⁷

⁴²³ Kostin, 'Fotomontazh i mekhanisticheskie oshibki "Oktyabrya"', p. 20.

⁴²⁴ Kostin, 'Fotomontazh i mekhanisticheskie oshibki "Oktyabrya"', p. 20.

⁴²⁵ Kostin, 'Fotomontazh i mekhanisticheskie oshibki "Oktyabrya"', p. 21.

⁴²⁶ *Brigada khudozhnikov*, No. 10, 1931, p. 6.

⁴²⁷ Kostin, 'Fotomontazh i mekhanisticheskie oshibki "Oktyabrya"', p. 21.

The formal character of Heartfield's montages could explain why the former Dadaist was so celebrated by the magazine of the militantly anti-formalist RAPKh. Rejecting the postulates of October's theoreticians in general and Klucis in particular about photomontage as the only possible substitute for painting,⁴²⁸ RAPKh saw in Heartfield's works a kind of painting created by means of photomontage. In his political creations of the late 1920s and 1930s, Heartfield replaced the cacophony of the Dadaist mosaic of fragmented photographic images with a different kind of absurdity. Like Aleksandr Rodchenko in his illustrations for Mayakovsky's poem *About This* [*Pro eto*], Heartfield visualized verbal metaphors. Like Hannah Höch, he created monsters. Both metaphors and monsters were placed within the illusionistic space of the mechanical linear perspective of photography. The compositions were absurd, but at the same time realistic. Heartfield was the only Dadaist who created a bridge between the brutality of Dadaist absurdity and the dream-like space of Surrealism. Being unaware of this, RAPKh and others who criticized the badly connected photographic images in the montages of Klucis saw in Heartfield's works a synthetic art, and a new ideal of wholeness or unity, which in the early 1930s they began to oppose to avant-garde fragmentation.

Heartfield was also praised by *The Proletarian Photograph* [*Proletarskoe foto*].

The January issue of 1932 included articles about him by Leonid Mezhericher, Sergei Tretyakov, Vladimir Kostin, and Egon Kisch. The author of the editorial

⁴²⁸ Klucis believed that, 'The old media of the visual arts (drawing, painting, engraving), because of their outdated technique and methods proved to be inappropriate to satisfy mass agitation needs of the revolution'. Klutsis, 'Fotomontazh kak novyi vid agitatsionnogo iskusstva', p. 121.

introduction signed his text with the initials L.P.⁴²⁹ The editorial not only referred to the Klucis-Heartfield contest over priority concerning the invention of photomontage, but also tried to rehabilitate Klucis. The text was preceded by a direct address to the Soviet master of photomontage:

Photomontage is becoming an integral part of our newspapers, magazines and posters. We have important photomontage oeuvres. This artistic medium is affected by the sharp class struggle in our country. *The Proletarian Photo* is calling on Soviet photomonteurs in general and comrade Klucis in particular, to share their creative experience.⁴³⁰

Unlike Kostin, the anonymous author of the editorial refused to take sides in the discussion about the discovery of the medium of photomontage:

The ‘origin’ of photomontage is a disputable or, at least, an unclear question. E. E. Kisch attributed the ‘discovery’ of photomontage to John Heartfield. Alternatively, there are opinions that photomontage was the brainchild of Soviet art. This question has some significance, but it is not of paramount importance. What is important is the question about the methods and devices, laws and means of montage...⁴³¹

⁴²⁹ It is possible that the editorial was written by Mezhericher, *Proletarskoe foto* had no important author with the initials L. P. The full initials of Mezhericher were L. P. M. (Leonid Petrovich). It is also unlikely that Mezhericher, who was the editor of the magazine would entrust the writing of such important text to a virtually unknown author.

⁴³⁰ P., ‘Za proletarsky khudozhestvennyi metod fotomontazha’ p. 14.,

⁴³¹ P., ‘Za proletarsky khudozhestvennyi metod fotomontazha’.

L.P. stressed that, ‘the art of the USSR can be proud of important oeuvres of photomontage (for example some posters by Klucis)’.⁴³² L.P. used a different ‘formalist’ to juxtapose to the positive developments of Soviet photomontage. As a negative example, he cited not the posters of Klucis, but ‘the refined and cheerless abstractions of El Lissitzky’.⁴³³

Explaining the montage technique, L. P. stressed the common notion that it is superior to photography, because ‘a photographic image appears in all its details in a mechanical way’⁴³⁴, and photomontage is the medium of ‘artistic generalization’.⁴³⁵ The task of every artist is to ‘transform surrounding reality according to a class-defined and class-aimed design’. An artist was no longer depicting facts. He was not following the material, but becoming its master. Art (including photomontage) was the result of the conscious will of its creator, who is free ‘to change real proportions, to reorganize accidental connections, and to disentangle what is most important and typical from what is secondary and unimportant’.⁴³⁶ As an example, L.P. cited an artist wanting to combine a gigantic figure of a worker with an image of a furnace, which in reality is 70 meters high. This combination, he argued, could symbolize ‘the creative greatness of the proletariat, which is erecting gigantic constructions of socialist industry, but remains their owner and ruler’.⁴³⁷ It is impossible to create such a visual

⁴³² P., ‘Za proletarsky khudozhestvennyi metod fotomontazha’.

⁴³³ P., ‘Za proletarsky khudozhestvennyi metod fotomontazha’.

⁴³⁴ P., ‘Za proletarsky khudozhestvennyi metod fotomontazha’.

⁴³⁵ P., ‘Za proletarsky khudozhestvennyi metod fotomontazha’.

⁴³⁶ P., ‘Za proletarsky khudozhestvennyi metod fotomontazha’.

⁴³⁷ P., ‘Za proletarsky khudozhestvennyi metod fotomontazha’.

exaggeration using traditional photography. Only montage is able to do it. Montage improves a snapshot by ‘preserving in its particular details the impressive reality of photography, [but] overcoming ... the limited nature of its transforming abilities’.⁴³⁸ The example L.P. selected is significant because by 1932, the use of exaggerated scales had become the trademark of Klucis’ montages. The gigantic worker towering over the furnace belonged more to the visual language of the Soviet *photomonteur* rather than to the German. Nevertheless, L. P. did not forget to praise Heartfield as well, calling him ‘one of the most progressive *photomonteurs* in the world’.⁴³⁹ The editorial also stressed the need to publish a monograph about Heartfield, which would be useful for photographic correspondents, who ‘are quite able to master this new and efficient method of visual agitation’.⁴⁴⁰

Sergei Tretyakov’s article, ‘Report of the Proletarian Artist, the Fighter of the Fraternal Communist Party’,⁴⁴¹ concentrated on Heartfield’s iconography, which was not familiar to the Soviet public. In his later publications about the photomonteur, the former *LEF* theoretician repeated many of the points that he made in this article. Leonid Mezhericher called on Soviet artists to study the ‘class-directed’ art by ‘the German comrade’ and praised it for being full of ‘indomitable hate for the bourgeoisie and social-democrats’.⁴⁴² Kisch’s

⁴³⁸ P., ‘Za proletarsky khudozhestvennyi metod fotomontazha’.

⁴³⁹ P., ‘Za proletarsky khudozhestvennyi metod fotomontazha’, p. 15.

⁴⁴⁰ P., ‘Za proletarsky khudozhestvennyi metod fotomontazha’.

⁴⁴¹ Sergei Tretyakov, ‘Raport proletarskogo khudozhnika, boitsa bratskoi kompartii’, *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 3, 1932, pp. 16–18.

⁴⁴² Leonid Mezhericher, ‘Raboty Khartfil’da - obraztsy klassovo napravlenno masterstva’, *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 3, 1932, pp. 18–19.

contribution was reprinted from *The Artists' Brigade*,⁴⁴³ but it was not published as an interview, but as a narrative text. The only question that remained was the one about Heartfield's Dadaist past, but it became a rhetorical question that the author asked himself. The final part of the interview concerning Heartfield's plans to visit the USSR was omitted.⁴⁴⁴

Kostin's text was like a piece of hagiography devoted to Heartfield, who was praised for revealing the true face of the 'social-fascists' as 'the best police dogs of capitalism'.⁴⁴⁵ The article did not mention Klucis, the October group, or any deficiencies of Soviet photomontage. It was obvious that the campaign against Klucis had come to an end, and that the magazine of the All-Russian Association of Proletarian Photographers was trying to soften the controversy.⁴⁴⁶ It was also obvious that adulation for Heartfield had reached its peak.

A 'Soviet Heartfield' had to appear, and he did. His name was Boris Klinch.⁴⁴⁷

He started his career as a graphic artist, and by the beginning of the 1930s was

⁴⁴³ Egon Kish, 'Velichaishy khudozhnik sovremennosti', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 3, 1932, pp. 19–20.

⁴⁴⁴ Such editing looks too radical. It is hard to imagine that it was done without the author's agreement. The interview with Kisch, which appeared in *The Artists' Brigade* (*Brigada khudozhnikov*, No 4, 1931) was not signed by the interviewer. Did Kisch, known as the 'king of reporters' simply write his article in the form of an interview? Or did *Proletarian Photo* edit it heavily? The answer is unclear.

⁴⁴⁵ Vladimir Kostin, 'Yazyk klassovoi nenavisti', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 3, 1932, p. 21.

⁴⁴⁶ In her article about Heartfield's trip to the USSR Maria Gough did not focus on the *RAPKh* criticism of Klucis. Yet I believe this criticism was instrumental for the future rejection of photomontage as a 'formalist' medium. It was adopted in future by the Socialist realist critics who accused photomontage artists in the 'mechanical' combination of photo elements and fragmentation of image. (See Chapter 3. Photomontage as a Photographic Picture.) Maria Gough, 'Back in the USSR: John Heartfield, Gustavs Klucis, and the Medium of Soviet Propaganda', *New German Critique*, 36, No. 2 107 (2009), pp. 137, 144.

⁴⁴⁷ Boris Klinch is a pseudonym of Garri Petrushansky (1892-1946).

well known as a cartoonist, publishing his drawings in *Crocodile* [*Krokodil*], *The Spark* [*Ogoniok*] and other Soviet newspapers and magazines. Responding to the spirit of the times, Klinch decided to experiment with photomontage. He defined these early works as ‘photographic cartoons’. The same definition was used in 1931 for Heartfield’s works, which were called either ‘photographic cartoons’ or ‘photographic pamphlets’.⁴⁴⁸ Klinch did not try to hide the fact that his photomontage practice was inspired by the works of Heartfield. The similarities of style and subject matter were difficult to escape. Klinch’s montages were populated by German ‘social fascists’ (the term Soviet propaganda used to describe the Social Democrats), ruthless German policemen, starving unemployed workers, fat capitalists, and British aristocrats. Most of these satirical compositions by the ‘Russian Heartfield’ were aimed at external enemies, but in pillorying the realities of ‘rotten capitalism’, Klinch revealed how little he knew about them. Sometimes his ignorance bordered on absurdity, which presumably remained unnoticed by his Soviet contemporaries. Not much had changed since the second half of the 1920s, when Klucis was transforming baseball players into naughty colonialists in his photomontages. *The Proletarian Photograph* [*Proletarskoe foto*] reproduced a montage by Klinch called *A Spectre is Haunting Europe* (Figure 193). This opening phrase of the *Communist Manifesto* was used by the artist as the title for a collage depicting a gigantic proletarian walking among New York skyscrapers, which reached his knees. He had just passed City Hall and had squeezed his enormous foot between two rows of buildings flanking

⁴⁴⁸ ‘Vashe mnenie of Khartfil’de, tovarishch Kish?’, p. 25.

Broadway.⁴⁴⁹ This discrepancy between the title and the image obviously did not worry Klinch's audience. The fact that the 'Spectre of Communism' was haunting Manhattan instead of Europe was not important. The artist was operating with symbols and stereotypes that had already been established in the posters and cartoons of Dmitry Moor and other artists of the early 1920s. In the context of such a hyperbolical system, the skyscrapers of New York were as good a visual designation of 'Europe' as the Eiffel Tower. Klinch's task was to provide a generalized and mythologized image of the capitalist West destined to be destroyed by the gigantic proletariat. In realizing this task, clearly any differences between Europe and America were irrelevant.

Klinch borrowed Heartfield's devices without hesitation. He attached, for instance, a non-human head to a human body. In the montage *I Stake My Head that Next Year the Social Democratic Party will Give the Workers Everything it Can*, a huge hand thumbing a nose, with glasses sitting on the thumb, replaced the head of a well-dressed bourgeois gentleman, representing a social democrat (Figure 194).⁴⁵⁰ Another photographic cartoon featured a sack of money (inscribed with the number 1,000,000) dressed in a tuxedo, with a top hat hanging in the air over it (Figure 195). A crowd of well-dressed men bowing low was placed in the lower part of the composition. The cartoon was called *The Faceless Idol of Social-Fascism*. The targets of Klinch's satire were not always anonymous. One of his compositions depicted an oversized skull wearing a military helmet with two cannons sticking out of the eye-sockets (Figure 196). In

⁴⁴⁹ *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 2, 1933, p. 21.

⁴⁵⁰ *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 2, 1933, p. 20.

the open jaws of the skull, there is the figure of a man speaking. On his breast are two letters - 'S.D.' - Social Democrat. Clouds of smoke surround the skull. Behind it are symmetrically placed buildings, the roofs of which are being destroyed by powerful explosions. The orator is Friedrich Ebert, the first president of the Weimar Republic, who was disliked in the Soviet Union because in 1919 he had used the Freikorps (right-wing groups of German military veterans), to suppress the Spartacus uprising, associated with such martyrs of the communist movement as Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Ebert had died in 1925, so why was he the main protagonist of a photomontage produced in 1932? The letters 'S.D.' decorating the breast of Ebert's jacket had to help the Russian viewer identify the little man placed between the teeth of the apocalyptic face of the imperialist Armageddon. The image of the German politician was reduced to a purely symbolic function. The skull was the universal symbol of death, and Ebert became a symbol for the treacherous German Social Democrats. In 1932, it might have been more logical to use Otto Wells or Hermann Müller, who were both active in the SPD, but like the New York skyscrapers representing Europe, the factual aspect of the image was not important. Even if Klinck could have been more precise in his choice of raw material for his 'photographic pamphlet', he couldn't avoid the explanatory marking 'S.D.', which helped his audience to understand the message. Most Soviet workers and peasants during the early 1930s couldn't recognize Ebert, but knew that the Social Democrats were the 'traitors of the working class'. The multi-volume dictionary of the Russian language, which began publication in 1935, defined a 'Social-Fascist' as 'A Social Democrat, who

is carrying out the tactics of Social-Fascism'. For propaganda purposes, details were not needed, and could be dangerous.

Klinch not only mimicked Heartfield's style, but also 'translated' his works attacking the Social Democrats in order to make them comprehensible to a Russian audience. Heartfield's compositions published in *AIZ* were too German-specific. Most Soviet people did not know the names or faces of Weimar's ministers and MPs, so needed detailed explanations, which Tretyakov provided in 1935 in his article in *The Soviet Photograph* [*Sovetskoe foto*], and a year later in his book on Heartfield.⁴⁵¹ Unfortunately, it was this very specificity made Heartfield's works unsuitable for propaganda inside the USSR. Klinch reduced the 'portrait gallery' of communism's enemies to a few recognizable faces and used visual symbols for the 'social-fascist' and other enemies, which were as flat as the traditional masks of abstract capitalists and militarists that were used during the May Day demonstrations.⁴⁵² Klinch clearly borrowed photographic material from foreign illustrated magazines. New York skyscrapers and sleek gentlemen dressed in tails were merely signifiers of the corrupt West and had turned into propaganda clichés long before Soviet satirical photomontage emerged. The image of a capitalist – a fat, well-dressed man in a top hat – had been borrowed by Soviet post-revolutionary artists from late nineteenth-century anti-capitalist and anti-Semitic posters, such as those by František Kupka, some of which had been

⁴⁵¹ Tret'yakov, 'Fotomontazhi khudozhnika-bolshevika'; and Tret'yakov, *Dzhon Hartfield. Monographia*.

⁴⁵² See *Street Art of the Revolution: Festivals and Celebrations in Russia 1918-33*, ed. by Vladimir Tolstoy, Irina Bibikova and Catherine Cooke (New York NY: Vendome Press, 1990).

reprinted in Russia after the Revolution.⁴⁵³ The image of the wicked fat exploiter was used by poster artists like Dmitry Moor, Viktor Deni and others.

The ‘abstractness’ of Klinch’s photographic cartoons made them quite boring. Unlike Heartfield’s works, they did not transform everyday reality into brutal absurdity. Where the work of the German *photomonteur* was topical, the symbolic production of his Soviet follower reflected only the guidelines of Soviet agitprop.

Of Klinch’s twelve photomontages published in *The Proletarian Photograph* in 1932-1933, four satirized German ‘social-fascists’, but not one attacked the National Socialists. Only two of them were about Soviet topics. *A Bureaucrat Can Even Drive Rabbits to Despair*,⁴⁵⁴ like his compositions ridiculing foreign enemies, was not aimed at a specific individual, but at bureaucrats in general (Figure 197). Three gigantic rabbits bare their teeth, as if they were tigers, at a scared bureaucrat sitting at a desk. Despite the ‘intensification of the class struggle’, and RAPKh’s demands that artists expose the ‘ideological enemy’, Klinch predominantly found such enemies abroad.

This was typical of Soviet cartoonists of the period. As early as 1927, Tretyakov noticed that, ‘the cartoons of our central newspapers mainly address international

⁴⁵³ For example posters by Kupka were reprinted in 1919 by the publishing house of the Central Executive Committee of Councils of Workers, Red Army, Peasants and Cossacks deputies. All of them were supplied by the appropriate bolshevist captions.

⁴⁵⁴ *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 2, 1933, p. 22.

topics (Chamberlain - Poincaré - Amsterdam⁴⁵⁵ - the fascists) and relatively rarely criticize the internal 'saboteurs of socialism' such as the 'bureaucrat,' the shirker, the kulak, etc.'. ⁴⁵⁶ Tretyakov believed that the choice of foreign targets for Soviet satire could be explained by the character of the period, 'Sobriety, but without mockery. Perhaps a certain Quaker-like, religious distrust of irony - all of these are characteristics of our day'. ⁴⁵⁷ It seems that not only the masses but also the leadership distrusted irony. Confining negative propaganda to foreign topics corresponded to the task of creating a positive image of the USSR, both at home and abroad. The dualism of the 'rotten West' versus 'the country constructing socialism' did not leave much space for satire about internal problems.

Boris Klinch not only copied Heartfield's devices, but also used them for the 'Heartfieldisation' of such stereotypical propaganda compositions as *Here and There* (Figure 198). In this, the artist opposed a capitalist (in the inevitable top hat) on the left-hand side of the composition to a smiling coalminer on the right. ⁴⁵⁸ Shells, a canon, and a tank surround the capitalist, but the shock worker is accompanied by blast furnaces, a factory chimney, and a tractor. The technique of juxtaposing images of socialism and capitalism, and using the visual similarity of the employed images to stress the contrast of their meaning, was developed by Klinch with precision, and became a favourite device of Soviet graphic artists.

⁴⁵⁵ Tretyakov was alluding to the uprising against Dutch colonial rule in Western Java and Western Sumatra and the formation of the short lived Soviet republic organized by the Communist Party of Indonesia with the support of the Comintern. The uprising was mercilessly suppressed by the Dutch colonial administration.

⁴⁵⁶ Sergei Tretyakov, 'Gazeta na shestakh', *Novyi LEF*, No. 10, 1927, p. 19.

⁴⁵⁷ Tretyakov, 'Gazeta na shestakh'.

⁴⁵⁸ *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 6, 1932, p. 25.

The ‘Soviet Heartfield’ was proud of his work and his medium. He did not, however, like its name. He wrote, ‘It seems to me that new forms of montage have long since outgrown the term. The word ‘montage’ has its root in western formalism, mimicking a machine, and conveying a mechanical understanding of the technique’s processes. Now, its development has to follow different paths, which have nothing in common with mechanics’.⁴⁵⁹

In contrast to Klucis, Klinch tried to prove that photomontage was not destined to replace painting, but as a medium is ruled by the same laws as the traditional genres of high art. He praised Heartfield, whom he was convinced had ‘for the first time lifted montage from the swamp of advertising and aesthetic formalism to the principal heights of high art’.⁴⁶⁰ Like the RAPKh critic, Kostin, Klinch compared Heartfield to the Soviet practitioners of photomontage. Commenting on Heartfield’s Moscow show, he wrote, ‘After this exhibition, our numerous photomonteurs will be obliged to revise the methods and devices they use in their montages and to check that they substitute the art of organizing the material for the disorganized submission to the available photographic material, or, to put it bluntly, for gluing photographs’.⁴⁶¹ Kostin was obviously referring to the use of ‘random pieces of photographs’ by Klucis and other Constructivists.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁹ Ben Klinch, ‘Fotomontazh-peredovoi uchastok iskusstva’, *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 2, 1933, p. 27.

⁴⁶⁰ Klinch, ‘Fotomontazh-peredovoi uchastok iskusstva’, p. 27.

⁴⁶¹ Ben Klinch, ‘Fotosatiru v arsenal agit-masovoi raboty’, *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 6, 1932, pp. 24–25.

⁴⁶² Kostin, ‘Fotomontazh i mekhanisticheskie oshibki “Oktyabrya”’, p. 20.

Analysing Klinch's montage method, the critic Lev Varshavsky stressed the general notion that photography was a medium that fragmented reality. He mentioned 'the indifference of the camera lens', which is ready to produce a 'buoyant' portrait of a millionaire, who tomorrow will be bankrupt' or reproduce the 'friendly smile of a butcher, who flooded the squares of the capital with the blood of workers'.⁴⁶³ In other words, a photograph can't be trusted. It just reproduces outward appearances, and is unable to show the essence of what is photographed. Today, he maintained, photography has to be able to produce a 'mental correction of the image',⁴⁶⁴ and reveal the character of the protagonist. Photomontage is the only way to achieve this. Varshavsky's argument echoes that of Klinch, who believed that the language of photography is strong, effective, and diversified when 'a photograph is not just a document, but at the same time is a document organized by the will of a gifted artist, based on a creative comparison and aimed in the correct direction'.⁴⁶⁵ The notion of factography was no longer relevant. Photomontage was considered to be an art form that was superior to the mechanical indifference of photography and the accidental character of snapshots.

Explaining Klinch's technique, Varshavsky stressed that the artist used drawing in tandem with his photographic material, actively retouching the photographs, and

⁴⁶³ Lev Varshavsky, 'Zhivye maski deistvitel'nosti. O fotosatire B. Klincha', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 2, 1933, p. 20.

⁴⁶⁴ Varshavsky, 'Zhivye maski deistvitel'nosti. O fotosatire B. Klincha'.

⁴⁶⁵ Klinch, 'Fotosatiru v arsenal agit-masovoi raboty', p. 24.

often resorting to staged photographs.⁴⁶⁶ Varshavsky wrote, 'For the time being, Klinch is the only one of our photomontage artists who is using models for his photographs,⁴⁶⁷ except in those cases where the task is the documentary depiction of a specific person. Klinch creates his photographic-composition like an artist creates a picture.'⁴⁶⁸ Varshavsky tried to equate photomontage with painting, and Klinch with a painter: both were using models to create a synthetic work of art.

The supporters of synthetic photomontage took Heartfield's words seriously, which sounded strange for a former Dadaist turned *photomonteur*: 'A painter is painting with pigments, I am painting with photographs'.⁴⁶⁹ The obsessive comparisons between photomontage and painting made the role of the artist absolute. Varshavsky wrote, 'Klinch is clearly and accurately emphasizing through his photographic compositions that even photomontage can present a certain truth [NB! - K.A.], projected through the temperament of the artist. This is another way to "*la verité vrai*" mentioned by the realist Courbet.'⁴⁷⁰

Despite such praise, Klinch could hardly claim to be the 'Courbet' of Soviet photomontage. For a short period, however, he was treated as the Soviet Unions' 'most important follower of Heartfield'.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁶ Like Heartfield, Klinch did not master photography and remained a montage artist *per se*; he used hired photographers who produced photographs of models in the poses he needed.

⁴⁶⁷ Varshavsky was not aware that the majority of the practitioners of the Soviet photomontage starting with Rodchenko and Klucis used staged photographs for their works.

⁴⁶⁸ Varshavsky, 'Zhivye maski deistvitel'nosti. O fotosatire B. Klincha', p. 21.

⁴⁶⁹ Tret'yakov, 'Fotomontazhi khudozhnika-bolshevika', p. 3.

⁴⁷⁰ Varshavsky, 'Zhivye maski deistvitel'nosti. O fotosatire B. Klincha', p. 22.

⁴⁷¹ Varshavsky, 'Zhivye maski deistvitel'nosti. O fotosatire B. Klincha', p. 20.

When discussing Klinch's photographic-cartoon depicting Winston Churchill from the series *Our Enemies*, published by Soyuzfoto for the 15th anniversary of the October Revolution, Brandon Taylor wrote about the new photomontage, 'such techniques have become transformed to a degree unimaginable before the advent of proletarian ideology in the arts. The once adventurously associative or radically disjunctive procedures of montage which Rodchenko himself had pioneered from 1919 had by now become relatively literally-minded and plain'⁴⁷² (Figure 199-200).

This connection between the rejection of 'disjunctive procedures' associated with the early method of fragmentation and 'the advent of proletarian ideology in the arts' is not convincing. Disjunctive procedures had also gradually disappeared from the works of Western photomontage artists, who were not committed to the communist cause or to proletarian ideology, and by the mid-1920s, the technique of fragmentation seems to have been almost universally abandoned. In this respect, German and Russian photomontage developed in very similar ways. Of course, economy of means leading to the reduction of photographic elements and attempts to create straightforward narratives or at least comprehensible images, did not exclude 'adventurously associative' procedures. The problem is that Klinch's works were, indeed, 'literally-minded and plain'.

⁴⁷² Brandon Taylor, 'Photo-Painting and Avant-Garde in Soviet Russia', *History of Photography*, 24, No. 4 (2000), p. 290.

In a certain sense, the montages by the 'Russian Heartfield' demonstrate the weakness of the works of the German *photomonteur* himself. John Berger noticed a contradiction in Heartfield's works, which resulted from the essence of the medium. He wrote, 'Photo-montage is at its weakest when it is purely symbolic, when it uses its own means to further rhetorical mystification. Heartfield's work is not always free from this. The weakness reflects deep political contradictions'.⁴⁷³ He added:

Heartfield accepted the party line, apparently without any misgivings. But among his works there is a clear distinction between those which demystify and those which exhort with simplified moral rhetoric. Those which demystify treat of the rise of the Nazism in Germany - a social-historical phenomenon with which Heartfield was tragically and intimately familiar; those that exhort are concerned with global generalizations which he inherited ready-made from elsewhere.⁴⁷⁴

Klinch was no more than an epigone of Heartfield. Even when he was trying to demystify, the artist was in reality doing no more than exhorting. Klinch combined Heartfield's devices with the Soviet cartoon tradition and the stereotypical iconography of official propaganda. The result of this fusion was often limited by photomontage's re-mediation of the traditional graphic cartoons. The artists simply translated popular satirical caricatures into photomontages, replacing graphic images with more convincing photographic elements.

⁴⁷³ John Berger, 'The Political Use of Photo-Montage', in *The Look of the Things* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972), p. 186.

⁴⁷⁴ Berger, 'The Political Use of Photo-Montage', p. 187.

The fame of the 'Soviet Heartfield' proved to be short-lived. Klinch continued to produce montages until the mid-1930s, but then, feeling a change in the wind, returned to drawing. His cartoons were published in Soviet newspapers until the 1950s, although by then nobody remembered that their author had once wanted to be the Soviet Heartfield.

The end of the short-lived fashion for Klinch's adaptations of Heartfield's works did not diminish Heartfield's influence on Soviet photomontage. In 1934 a book called *1914* was published in Moscow. The book was produced by Ilya Feinberg, who later became an important literary historian, and Solomon Telingater, a young, but experienced book designer, who used photomontage elements in his works. The book, dedicated to the history of the origins of the First World War, possessed a strong ideological character. At the same time, the authors constructed it according to *LEF*'s recipes for the literature of fact: it was created as a montage of documents, supported by documentary photographs of the period. According to Vladimir Telingater, the artist's son, the design of the book was strongly influenced by film montage, especially by the works of Esfir Shub.⁴⁷⁵ Many of the documentary shorts used in her film *The Fall of the Romanov Dynasty* were included in *1914*. Employing a film montage approach towards photographic illustrations, Telingater also included in the book a set of photomontage - cartoons of the political personalities of the period. The cover of

⁴⁷⁵ Vladimir Telingater, 'Monya-komsomolets. Vospominaniya o khudozhnike Solomone Telingatere', *Iskusstvo kino*, 2004 <<http://kinoart.ru/2004/n8-article22.html>> [accessed 14 December 2011].

the book featured a montage depicting fighting dinosaurs against a map of the world (Figure 201). Photographic-cartoons depicted a medal with portraits of Kaiser Wilhelm and Tsar Nicholas II on one side and Karl Kautsky and Georgy Plekhanov on the other, stressing the European social democrats' support for the war. Telingater's montages used Heartfield's devices, but did not slavishly copy his work. In some cases, the artist couldn't avoid the temptation of overstatement. Contemporary critics noticed these mistakes. Sergei Aleksandrov wrote that montage couldn't compete with documentary shots, which looked more convincing than manipulated photography. The critic approved the use of montage images as 'openings' for the book's chapters, but criticized the juxtaposition of photography and montage. Aleksandrov considered one of the chapter's openings (on pages 38 and 39) a failure because 'The Photographic image is more convincing'.⁴⁷⁶ The opening in question combined the well-known photograph of the French Prime Minister Raymond Poincaré visiting a military cemetery and a montage by Telingater called *Poincaré - War is Smiling*, depicting the politician surrounded by graves (Figure 201). In *1914*, Telingater included satirical photomontages as an important element of the layout. *1914* was essentially a photographic story, based on archival visual material like the films of Esfir Shub, and incorporated illusionistic montage as a rhythmic element in the organization of the book's structure. Telingater's work continued the tradition of Constructivist book design. He used a variety of fonts in different sizes and colours and included quotes from Lenin printed on separate sheets of red paper.

⁴⁷⁶ Sergei Aleksandrov, 'Fotopamflet o podzhigatelyakh voyny', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 8-9, 1934, p. 33.

In this combination of the ‘old fashioned’ factographic approach, Constructivist design, and the Heartfield-like absurdity of the manipulated images - factography won. Concluding his review of *1914*, Aleksandrov observed that Telingater’s creation could make those who believe that photographic reportage is just a craft serving the tasks of today, realize that photographic documents have an historical power.’⁴⁷⁷

Telingater had no intention of becoming the next ‘Soviet Heartfield’. He just adopted certain elements of the German’s montage practice in his book design. Heartfield’s approach to satirical photomontage was treated as one of several potential montage tactics, which could be combined with other devices, such as a radical layout and a Constructivist play with fonts, to produce a result that was quite different to the conservative uniformity of *AIZ*’s design.

Soviet interest in Heartfield’s montages was not limited to a creative borrowing from his works. There were also attempts to produce a theoretical interpretation of his approach. In 1935, Tretyakov published ‘Photomontages of the Bolshevik Artist’ in *The Soviet Photograph*, which he incorporated into his monograph on Heartfield, published a year later. Tretyakov’s attempts to interpret the artist’s montages sheds important light on how Heartfield’s works were interpreted in the Soviet Union during the mid-1930s, but his arguments also reveal a major shift in the position of the militant theoretician of the Left Front. Tretyakov compromised many of his earlier theoretical positions in order to adjust to the new cultural

⁴⁷⁷ Aleksandrov, ‘Fotopamflet o podzhigatelyakh voyny’, p. 34.

situation and the establishment of socialist realism. Heartfield was the ideal subject for the former *LEF* critic. On the one hand, he was undoubtedly ‘a Bolshevik artist’; on the other hand, he was connected to the tradition of radical art. Even more importantly, Heartfield produced his work for newspapers. The cult of the newspaper was established by *LEF* at the end of the 1920s. In 1927, Tretyakov wrote, ‘Every epoch has its aesthetic forms, defined by the economic nature of the epoch. Monumental forms are typical of feudalism and nowadays are no more than imitative stylizations, indicating an inability to express oneself in contemporary language. We do have not to wait for the appearance of a Tolstoy, because we have our epic form already. Our epos is the newspaper’.⁴⁷⁸

Heartfield’s art was the best possible fit for *LEF*’s emphasis on ‘the newspaper, cinema and radio – as the three main media for the centralized communication with millions of people’.⁴⁷⁹ The argument concerning the ‘newspaperisation of the work of a writer’⁴⁸⁰ could easily be extended to the work of an artist, especially if this artist was using photography as his main medium. In 1931, Tretyakov still believed that painting should die and be replaced by the technically advanced medium of photography: ‘Photography is replacing painting. It is becoming a functional weapon of struggle in the hands of proletarians because it is able to provide a technical basis for the active dialectical-materialist approach to the world much more easily and completely than painting.’⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁸ Sergei Tret’yakov, ‘Novyi Lev Tolstoi’, *Novyi LEF*, 10, No. 1 (1927), p. 36.

⁴⁷⁹ Sergei Tret’yakov, ‘Kak Desyatiletit’’, *Novyi LEF*, No. 4, 1927, p. 34.

⁴⁸⁰ Sergei Tret’yakov, ‘Nashi tovarishchi’, *Novyi LEF*, No. 10, 1928, p. 1.

⁴⁸¹ Sergei Tret’yakov, ‘Ot fotoserii - k dlitel’nomu fotonabludeniyu’, *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 4, 1931, p. 20.

By 1935-1936, Tretyakov had abandoned his definition of art as ‘a social drug’⁴⁸² and his rejection of painting as an outworn medium. The critic no longer mentioned ‘the sunset of painting, as a tool for the true organization of mass emotion’.⁴⁸³ On the contrary, Tretyakov was now trying to prove that Heartfield’s montages were as good a medium as painting. Tretyakov even chose Heartfield’s phrase that he used photographs like an artist used paints as the epigraph of his article published in *The Soviet Photograph*.⁴⁸⁴ Tretyakov couldn’t avoid stressing the modern essence of photomontage and its ability to respond to current events much more quickly than traditional media. ‘Artists were unable to follow events. A pencil proved to be too slow – a lie, spread by the bourgeois press was outrunning it’.⁴⁸⁵ His conclusion, in *New LEF*, about the ‘sunset’ of painting was replaced by the idea that photomontage was the equal of painting. Describing Heartfield’s artistic development, Tretyakov stressed that, ‘For a long time he had to hammer into the heads of academically minded artists and art lovers that photomontage is the equal of the other visual arts’.⁴⁸⁶ In this interpretation photomontage was not a *primus inter pares*, but just *sub-par inter pares*.

In his hagiography of Heartfield, Tretyakov made a serious concession to current attitudes. This concession concerned the *photomonteur*’s Dadaist past. According to Tretyakov, Heartfield had succeeded in overcoming his original ‘formalism’:

⁴⁸² Sergei Tret’yakov, ‘S Novym Godom! S novym Lefom!’, *Novyi LEF*, No. 1, 1928, p. 2.

⁴⁸³ Sergei Tret’yakov, ‘Chto novogo’, *Novyi LEF*, No. 9, 1928, p. 1.

⁴⁸⁴ Tret’yakov, ‘Fotomontazhi khudozhnika-bolshevika’, p. 3.

⁴⁸⁵ Tret’yakov, ‘Fotomontazhi khudozhnika-bolshevika’, p. 3.

⁴⁸⁶ Tret’yakov, ‘Fotomontazhi khudozhnika-bolshevika’, p. 8.

Dadaism flourished during the final year of the war. Heartfield's first Dadaist photomontages were non-figurative; pieces of photographs and fragments of texts were assembled not according to any meaning, but according to the artist's aesthetic caprice. But Heartfield's Dadaist period of work did not last long. He soon stopped burning the gunpowder of creative explosions for non-figurative fireworks. His works became battle shots.⁴⁸⁷

Trying to explain Dadaism, the critic employed the same comparison that was offered by Erwin Kisch. In a footnote, Tretyakov called it 'an art movement close to our Futurism of 1912-1914'. The phrase 'non-figurative fireworks' looks like a sad retreat from his fierce defence of avant-garde art and particularly Futurism, in articles published in *LEF* and *New LEF* in 1923-1928. The notion of a progressive avant-garde practice 'aimed at the fastest possible decomposition of fetishist, self-sufficient, chaotic and individualist bourgeois art'⁴⁸⁸ was replaced by the idea of a petty-bourgeois formalist who had found his way to true proletarian art under the guidance of the Party. Tretyakov wrote: 'The Party trained Heartfield to perceive the real enemy. It dictated the direction of his works, taught him to understand a proletarian audience, to talk to it using its language, and to make that language simple.'⁴⁸⁹ In 1935, the critic, who had defended the trans-rational [*zaumny*] language of Russian Futurism and attacked

⁴⁸⁷ Tret'yakov, 'Fotomontazhi khudozhnika-bolshevika', p. 3.

⁴⁸⁸ Sergei Tret'yakov, 'Tribuna Lefa', *LEF*, No. 3, 1923, p. 154. See also Tret'yakov, 'Chto novogo', pp. 1-5.

⁴⁸⁹ Tret'yakov, 'Fotomontazhi khudozhnika-bolshevika', p. 3.

cultural reactionaries who referred to the ‘incomprehensibility’ of avant-garde art, had to employ in his own text the conventional banalities expressed by opponents of the new art.⁴⁹⁰

For the Tretyakov of 1935, Heartfield’s artistic development was reduced to a victory over the fragmentation of the image. Although Heartfield had made his early works from many, often not well-connected elements, he later reduced their quantity, and diminished the amount of detail in order to achieve a more unified image and greater expressivity. For Tretyakov, ‘The most perfect of his works are those that employ no more than two elements’.⁴⁹¹ At the same time, Tretyakov interpreted Heartfield’s progress as a consistent move towards realism, although he did not use that term, but referred to the unity of image, the illusionistic space of three dimensions, perspective, etc. The critic wrote, ‘If in the early montages, a man, combined from different pieces was as wooden as a doll, in the later works he is alive and expressive’.⁴⁹² Tretyakov concluded that Heartfield even managed to improve the illusion of depth produced by the mechanical perspective of photography and make his montages more real than common snapshots: ‘In the cited photomontages Heartfield, first of all creates an illusion of real space and at the same time he corrects the mistake of photography and makes the background clearer and in a larger format than photography can. Thanks to this, perspectival foreshortening acquires the required significance, emphasis, and direction’.⁴⁹³

⁴⁹⁰ Tret’yakov, ‘Tribuna Lefa’, pp. 154–159.

⁴⁹¹ Tret’yakov, ‘Fotomontazhi khudozhnika-bolshevika’, p. 3.

⁴⁹² Tret’yakov, ‘Fotomontazhi khudozhnika-bolshevika’, p. 5.

⁴⁹³ Tret’yakov, ‘Fotomontazhi khudozhnika-bolshevika’, p. 6.

Tretyakov stressed the role of colour in Heartfield's montages and provided a broad definition of photomontage, which he considered was not necessarily just 'a montage of photographs'.⁴⁹⁴ For Tretyakov, the photomontage could be a combination of photographic images, photographs and text, photographs and paint, or photographic images and drawings.⁴⁹⁵ The pencil, which Tretyakov pointed out at the beginning of his article, was 'too slow', proved to be fast enough to be used as a subsidiary medium, supplementing photography. By broadening the definition of photomontage, the critic was able to include a work by Heartfield that was produced without any photographic images - a collage depicting a battleship made of clippings from newspapers.⁴⁹⁶

In his writings of the late 1920s, Tretyakov did not address the issue of the staged photograph, but he did comment extensively on the staging of film footage. In his approach to staging Tretyakov was not consistent. On the one hand, he believed that 'attempts to stage documentary footage, 'are nothing more than a *contradictio in adjecto*, because the very definition of documentary footage excludes the definition of staging'.⁴⁹⁷ On the other hand, he dreamed that in the future, Soviet streets would witness large-scale film projections: 'Films projected onto the walls of buildings will replace street theatricals of events (which are complicated and badly established in our everyday life) either by showing the real facts in

⁴⁹⁴ Tret'yakov, 'Fotomontazhi khudozhnika-bolshevika', p. 3.

⁴⁹⁵ Tret'yakov, 'Fotomontazhi khudozhnika-bolshevika'.

⁴⁹⁶ Tret'yakov, 'Fotomontazhi khudozhnika-bolshevika', p. 4.

⁴⁹⁷ Sergei Tret'yakov, 'Kino k yubileyu', *Novyi LEF*, No. 10, 1927, p. 27.

documentary footage or staging revolutionary moments of revolution with complete precision and efficacy.’⁴⁹⁸

In 1927, while rejecting ‘the artistic falsification’⁴⁹⁹ of staging in film footage, Tretyakov revealed his ambivalent position towards it during a discussion on cinema, which was reported in *New LEF*.⁵⁰⁰ He observed correctly that the very notion of documentary could be tricky: ‘An “interpretation” of material is already a one-sided use of it’.⁵⁰¹ During the discussion, he made statements that were blasphemous to supporters of factography. He defended the idea that Esfir Shub could use staged episodes in instances where genuine documentary footage was unavailable for her film *The Fall of the Romanov Dynasty*.⁵⁰²

Tretyakov also proposed his own classification of film material, which he divided into three categories: ‘The first - documentary material, the second – staged, and the third - fictionalized’.⁵⁰³ In contrast to his colleagues like Osip Brik, he did not consider the second category to be absolutely inferior to documentary footage. Tretyakov took a much softer stand than the majority of critics on Eisenstein's film *October*, in which the revolutionary masses and their leader were ‘staged’.

⁴⁹⁸ Tret'yakov, ‘Kak Desyatiletit’, p. 36.

⁴⁹⁹ Tret'yakov, ‘Kino k yubileyu’, p. 28.

⁵⁰⁰ ‘Lef i Kino. Stenogramma soveshchaniya’, *Novyi LEF*, No. 10-12, 1927, pp. 50–54.

⁵⁰¹ ‘Lef i Kino. Stenogramma soveshchaniya’, p. 51.

⁵⁰² ‘Lef i Kino. Stenogramma soveshchaniya’.

⁵⁰³ ‘Lef i Kino. Stenogramma soveshchaniya’, p. 52.

Analysing staging in cinema, Tretyakov concluded that models had to correspond to the role that they would perform on the screen, i.e. that a real woodcutter was the best model for representing a woodcutter in a film.⁵⁰⁴ Commenting on Eisenstein's work with a model, Tretyakov wrote that, 'he is used as material, which corresponds in its material qualities, customs and automation of movements to that person who had to be shown on the screen'.⁵⁰⁵

Given this approach to staging, it is not surprising that Tretyakov praised Heartfield for his use of staged photography, almost in the same way as Varshavsky applauded Klinch for employing photographs of models. Tretyakov described Heartfield's cover design for Upton Sinclair's novel *The Brass Check*,⁵⁰⁶ which depicts a journalist whose mouth is covered by the hand of a person invisible to the spectator, while another hand is giving the muffled writer a bundle of banknotes, as a 'photograph in which the moment of montage preceded the shooting'.⁵⁰⁷ The act of staging in this case is regarded as a montage of real components.

Concerning Heartfield's poster of male and female workers holding a hammer and sickle, Tretyakov wrote, 'To make this poster Heartfield had to look for the appropriate faces for a long time'.⁵⁰⁸ This approach to models as 'types,' was quite close to Eisenstein who for models 'chooses people whose face, bodily

⁵⁰⁴ 'Lef i Kino. Stenogramma soveshchaniya', p. 53.

⁵⁰⁵ 'Lef i Kino. Stenogramma soveshchaniya'.

⁵⁰⁶ Upton Sinclair, *Der Sündenlohn* (Berlin: Malik Verlag, 1929).

⁵⁰⁷ Tret'yakov, 'Fotomontazhi khudozhnika-bolshevika', p. 4.

⁵⁰⁸ Tret'yakov, 'Fotomontazhi khudozhnika-bolshevika'.

construction and gait bear the necessary resemblance'.⁵⁰⁹ Yet, unlike Eisenstein, Heartfield not only staged the required images, but also doctored and sometimes distorted them. Tretyakov was delighted by the fact that Heartfield had extended the length of the hands in order to make the image of the workers more expressive.⁵¹⁰

By this time, the erstwhile champion of factography did not seem too concerned about the veracity of the visual image. This approach to Heartfield's manipulation of images reflects the ideas that Tretyakov had formulated in the second half of the 1920s, when he had defined aesthetic practice as including 'the two main social functions of our time: the demonstration of a fact, i.e. an informational function, and the activization of a spectator, i.e. an agitational function'.⁵¹¹ The function of agitation demanded special devices, which were different to the devices of factography: 'It is important to know how to distribute the focal points, how to create a stimulating massage for the nerves, to what extent a fact has to be an object of theorization or when it has to be turned into a cartoon in order to show more effectively its important characteristics and shortcomings invisible to the naked eye'.⁵¹² The photographic fixation of fact was not enough for Tretyakov any more – it had to be beefed up – transformed into a stimulating cartoon or image.

⁵⁰⁹ 'Lef i Kino. Stenogramma soveshchaniya', p. 53.

⁵¹⁰ Tret'yakov, 'Fotomontazhi khudozhnika-bolshevika', p. 4.

⁵¹¹ Sergei Tret'yakov, 'Chem zhivo kino', *Novyi LEF*, No. 5, 1928, p. 28.

⁵¹² Tret'yakov, 'Chem Zhivo Kino'.

This concept of agitational art permitted both staging and fiction, and basically reduced factography to a temporary device. Tretyakov had felt the approach of the new ‘agitational’ paradigm towards the end of the 1920s. He had concluded his speech at *New LEF*’s discussion on cinema with the suggestion that ‘because we are facing a demand to stimulate the emotions’ it might be necessary to use material other than documentary footage, ‘perhaps it will be necessary to fight even for staged material, i.e. to work according to Eisenstein's method’.⁵¹³

Embracing the notion of agitational art, which contradicted the concept of factography, Tretyakov developed his concept of aesthetic practice as a form of ‘social-psychological pressure, which represents a certain social tendency and objectively always serves certain class aims’.⁵¹⁴

Heartfield’s photomontages corresponded to this vision of art as a manipulation of mass consciousness. In 1923, Tretyakov had written, ‘Art is not only an established fact, it influences the psyche, it provides a selection of material in such a way and focuses attention on those associations that are able to generate the sustained interest of the consumer in those analogies, and methods of expression that belong to the producer.’⁵¹⁵ Tretyakov believed in the power of an artist to manipulate the viewer, by involving him in a game in which the rules are dictated by the ‘producer’.

⁵¹³ Tret’yakov, ‘Chem Zhivo Kino’, p. 54.

⁵¹⁴ Sergei Tret’yakov, ‘Lef i Nep’, *LEF*, No. 2, 1923, p. 70. On the discussion about factography in *Novyi Lef* see Leah Dickerman, ‘The Fact and the Photograph’, *October*, 118 (2006), pp. 132–152.

⁵¹⁵ Tret’yakov, ‘Lef i Nep’.

For Tretyakov, the main function of art was ‘to oppress the intellect and to liberate the spontaneity of the subconscious.’⁵¹⁶ In 1927, he still believed ‘that this main function is used by the ruling classes in their interests’.⁵¹⁷ In 1935 the ‘main function’ was used in the interests of Soviet propaganda.

In his articles of the late 1920s, Tretyakov interpreted the literature of fact and the broad application of the method of factography in photography and cinema as an appeal to the audience’s intellect. In the mid-1930s he diagnosed the formation of a new language:

Heartfield is raising on the cover a figure - a silhouette of Liebknecht over rows of German members of the Communist Youth International; a Chinese agitator is standing over columns of armed proletarians from Shanghai; the gigantic silhouette of Lenin is visible in the shadows of the aeroplane’s wings over the newly built blocks of workers’ flats in Moscow. In all of these instances, a person or a gesture is becoming the manifestation of an idea. Lenin symbolizes by his figure the constructive inspiration of the five-year plan; Liebknecht - the storming impulse of revolutionary youth; a hand making a fist represents strength, resoluteness and inexorability.

⁵¹⁶ Sergei Tret’yakov, ‘Vot spasibo’, *Novyi LEF*, No. 5, 1927, p. 45. Tret’yakov was not the only theoretician who noticed the important role of the subconscious in art. Eisenstein dedicated to this question a special tract: Sergei Eizenshtein, ‘Zametki k “Grundproblem”’, in *Metod. Tainy masterstva* (Moscow: Muzei kino, Eizenshtein-tsestr, 2002), II, pp. 352–408.

⁵¹⁷ Tret’yakov, ‘Vot spasibo’.

This is the way to establish a language of hieroglyphs comprehensible to everyone. The hand making a fist represents red solidarity. A banner in the hand denotes unity, loyalty to the call, and the struggle in progress. A top hat and the head of a predator signifies capital, an exploiter. A steel helmet, a rubber truncheon, and an axe symbolize fascism.’⁵¹⁸

The language of simplified semantic hieroglyphs or signs replaced the rational language of facts. Tretyakov celebrated the primitive symbolism of political propaganda reduced to a set of stereotypes. From now on, the medium became less important than the language with which it was operating - both the heroic giants and top hats could be visualized by photomontage, cartoons, painting or film. This language became the most efficient device for ‘the organization of mass emotions’.⁵¹⁹ The critic surrendered to the banality of those ‘global generalizations’, which John Berger considered weaknesses in Heartfield's art.

Acting in accordance with the vogue of the time, Tretyakov not only lionized the German *photomonteur*, but also contrasted his synthetic montage (employing lively images within an illusionistic space created by linear perspective) to the productions of Soviet photomontage artists, who used badly attached photographic fragments. Of course, he did not name names, but his philippics are quite transparent:

⁵¹⁸ Tret'yakov, ‘Fotomontazhi khudozhnika-bolshevika’, p. 6.

⁵¹⁹ Tret'yakov, ‘Chto novogo’, p. 1.

How often in our photomontages are the photographs glued together but not interconnected. Without any great loss they could be re-glued and changed. How often is a photomontage artist unable to answer the question of why he gave one part of a montage one scale and another part another? How often is a photomontage reduced to small elements, which pull apart and are like the mumblings of a fumbling man, speaking with slips of the tongue, recalling things (in order not to forget something) instead of pronouncing the main, the comprehensive word? How schematic and unspecific are photomontages in which movement is shown in general: 'in general in a unified formation,' 'in general high into the air'?⁵²⁰

Tretyakov's attack on Constructivist photomontage was an attempt to adjust to the official demands of the time, although the mimicry of the *LEF* critic was not skilful enough. Most of Tretyakov's points strikingly resemble Kostin's article and certain statements by Klinch from the early 1930s. Tretyakov celebrated the revolutionary origin of photomontage, and the 'realism' of Heartfield, who succeeded in making the space of photography even more illusionistic than it was before him. In Tretyakov's interpretation, Heartfield overcame formalism and the fragmentation of the image to produce a synthetic work of art, which could be opposed to the fragmentation of Constructivist montage. His work proves that photomontage could be as good as painting, and he developed the new medium to a level that allowed it to be accepted into the Parnassus of high art.

⁵²⁰ Tretyakov, 'Fotomontazhi khudozhnika-bolshevika', p. 6.

Tretyakov concluded his article in *The Soviet Photograph* by stating that photomontage is a true mass art, which could be mastered by millions of worker correspondents. The critic believed that a school of montage practice could train future photographers, film workers and even easel painters. He asserted, 'The future graphic artist or painter will develop from retouching photographs'.⁵²¹ This belief that proletarians could master art i.e. the idea of the de-professionalization of creative activity, was a return to the theories expressed by such ideologists of the October group as Ivan Maza in the late 1920s. In 1935-36 it sounded untimely. Proletarians, of course, could continue to make photomontages for their community wall newspapers, but such efforts couldn't any longer be equated with any kind of professional art.

Tretyakov's attempt to find a niche in the new cultural system of socialist realism failed.⁵²² A year after the publication of his monograph on Heartfield, he was arrested and shot. That same year Heartfield, fearing a Nazi invasion of Czechoslovakia, where he was living in exile and where *AIZ* was published after the Nazis came to power in Germany, emigrated to London. *AIZ* ceased to exist in 1938, when German troops marched into Prague.

⁵²¹ Tret'yakov, 'Fotomontazhi khudozhnika-bolshevika', p. 8.

⁵²² In the article 'RadiCal Tourism: Sergei Tret'yakov at the Communist Lighthouse' Maria Gough tried to analyse the practice of Tret'yakov as a writer and photographer during his work on a collective farm. She mentioned his early articles and collections of essays, but failed to mention his book *Tysiacha i odin trudoden'* (Moscow: Sovetskaya literatura, 1934), which became the main oeuvre of the Tret'yakov's collective farm reporting. It would be interesting to analyse Tret'yakov's text and understand how he was transformed from the 'radiCal tourist' of the early 1930s into the conformist, denouncing class enemies of 1934. This transformation was happening simultaneously with the revision of his theoretical opinions. See Maria Gough, 'RadiCal Tourism: Sergei Tret'yakov at the Communist Lighthouse', *October*, 118 (2006), pp. 159–178.

For a while, Heartfield and his method of satirical, illusionistic photomontage were forgotten in the USSR. Negative propaganda was not needed at the end of the 1930s. Following the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, Heartfield's name disappeared from the pages of Soviet newspapers. His legacy and his montage devices, however, were needed two years later, when Nazi Germany unexpectedly invaded the USSR.

Chapter Five: Photomontage at the Front

In 1961, the Soviet Bloc's fashion for exploring the leftist political spirit of the early twentieth-century avant-garde coincided with the rediscovery of photomontage by Western pop art. East German curators decided to remind the world of the medium's communist genealogy. The occasion was perfect. John Heartfield, the legendary photomontage artist and ardent radical, had turned 70, and his jubilee was lavishly celebrated by the German Democratic Republic. Heartfield became the central figure in an exhibition⁵²³ devoted to historic works of communist visual propaganda.⁵²⁴ Heartfield's oeuvres were shown alongside compositions by artists from other socialist countries, like Antonin Pelc, a Czech modernist painter and political cartoonist who occasionally used photography; Mieczysław Berman (Polish); and Aleksandr Zhitomirsky (Russian) who worked predominantly with photomontage.⁵²⁵ By the time the Berlin exhibition opened, Berman, who was connected to Constructivist circles and had been active during the 1930s, was reconstructing numerous works that had been destroyed during the occupation of Warsaw in 1939. Berman was jealous of Heartfield, and through his reconstructions hoped to prove if not his priority then at least his right to be treated as equal with the German.⁵²⁶ The atmosphere of competition seems to have provoked Heartfield to endorse his Soviet follower Zhitomirsky, who was

⁵²³ The exhibition was organized to celebrate Heartfield's seventieth birthday.

⁵²⁴ *Im Kampf Vereint! Ausstellung Von Fotomontagen Und Zeichnungen: John Heartfield, Alexander Shitomirski, Mieczyslaw Berman, Antonin Pelc* (Berlin: Pavillon der Kunst, 1961).

⁵²⁵ John Heartfield, 'Rozhdennoe v ognie voyny', in *Iskusstvo politicheskogo fotomontazha* (Moscow: Plakat, 1983), p. 118.

⁵²⁶ Stanisław Czekalski, *Awangarda i Mit Racjonalizacji: Fotomontaz Polski Okresu Dwudziestolecia Miedzywojennego* (Poznan: PTNP, 2000), pp. 115–116.

ecstatically declaring his dependence on the master. Heartfield praised Zhitomirsky's experience in the everyday production of montage images for mass media (reminiscent of Heartfield's own practice for *AIZ*),⁵²⁷ the Russian's technical skills and his ability to work fast, but Heartfield caustically observed, 'It seems to me that Berman and I are taking longer to produce our work'.⁵²⁸

The Berlin exhibition was called *United in Struggle* and had a clear political message. Between January and the beginning of August 1961, approximately 160,000 people had escaped from East Berlin to the West. In August, the construction of the Berlin wall began. The Cold War had reached a new phase. It was essential to remind East Germans of the heroic Spartacist legacy manifested in Heartfield's works⁵²⁹ and, at the same time, to demonstrate the unity of the Warsaw bloc countries in the standoff with the West. Of all the participants of the Berlin exhibition, Zhitomirsky was the only one who was still active. The construction of the infamous wall and new tensions with the West had produced new commissions and new subjects for him. He did not yet feel himself a part of history.

The 1961 exhibition and Heartfield's praise instantly elevated Zhitomirsky to the status of a classic photomontage artist. The rediscovery of the medium provoked an avalanche of publications, and all the Western volumes included Zhitomirsky's

⁵²⁷ John Heartfield and David Evans, *John Heartfield, AIZ: Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung, Volks Illustrierte 1930-38*. (New York: Kent Fine Art Inc., 1992).

⁵²⁸ Heartfield, 'Rozhdennoe v ogne voyny'.

⁵²⁹ That same year Heartfield was awarded the GDR prize, the highest award in East Germany.

works,⁵³⁰ but it was a strange fame. Usually, the books only included a few of the artist's works, dating from the period of the Second World War. Most authors did not even seem to have been aware that Zhitomirsky was still alive and active. His early montages and his later works remained virtually unknown to Western art historians and were rediscovered only recently.⁵³¹

A Portrait of the Photomontage Artist as a Young Man

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky was born in the city of Rostov on Don in 1907. In 1925 he moved to Moscow and attended the Central Studio of the Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia [AKhRR]. While a student (1925-1929) he was not involved with either photography or photomontage, but studied painting and book illustration. His first teacher was the painter Ilya Mashkov, but later he was taught by the famous graphic artist Vladimir Favorsky.⁵³² Favorsky's influence was decisive, and Zhitomirsky soon became a cartoonist and newspaper illustrator.⁵³³ His elegant ink drawings corresponded to the style of the time, betraying the influence of Dmitry Moor and other leading graphic artists of the 1920s.

⁵³⁰ Herta Wescher, *Die Collage* (Cologne: M. DuMont Schauberg, 1968).

⁵³¹ Alexander Zhitomirsky, *Personal Collages 1931-1935* (New York: Nailya Alexander Gallery, 2005).; and Alexander Zhitomirsky, *PolitiCal Photomontage* (San Francisco: Robert Koch Gallery, 1994).

⁵³² Vladimir Zhitomirsky, 'Years of Happiness, Years of Becoming', in *Personal Collages 1931-1935* (New York: Nailya Alexander Gallery, 2005), p. 13.

⁵³³ During the late 1920s Zhitomirsky produced cartoons and illustrations for the newspapers *Proletarian Links* (*Proletary svyazi*) and *Change* (*Smena*). In 1930-1933 he worked for *The Workers' Newspaper* (*Rabochaya gazeta*) and *Work* (*Trud*), which were published by All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (VtsSPS). (See Vladimir Zhitomirsky, 'Years of Happiness, Years of Becoming', p. 13.)

At the beginning of the 1930s, Zhitomirsky was commissioned to produce a poster advertising a spa in Kislovodsk for Intourist, the agency responsible for foreign visitors to the USSR.⁵³⁴ He decided to try photomontage, using a photograph of himself and his young wife, posing as happy tourists. Even before this commission, he had been toying with compositions that included photographic images, but his focus on montage alone can be dated to the first half of the 1930s. Working on advertising posters, Zhitomirsky started to practise a kind of private photomontage: experiments that were not intended for publication, but became a kind of visual diary. His passion for the medium was so devouring that he started to send his wife montage 'letters'⁵³⁵ and even gave her an album of photomontages dedicated to their imaginary honeymoon.⁵³⁶

These private montages are extremely interesting and shed important light on Zhitomirsky's development. At the beginning of the 1930s, he was well aware of 1920s Soviet montage and tried to adopt, not to say parody, its most common devices. He exploited a wide spectrum of sources from Aleksandr Rodchenko's illustrations to Boris Klinch's photo-caricatures.⁵³⁷ Zhitomirsky's most characteristic early works are in the album he gave his wife. These photomontages do not create a narrative, but are divided into groups: portraits, travel images, and grotesque compositions. The album immediately recalls Rodchenko's illustrations

⁵³⁴ Intourist was a state joint-stock company established in 1929 for foreign tourists to the USSR.

⁵³⁵ Alexander Zhitomirsky, *Personal Collages 1931-1935*, pp. 16,18.

⁵³⁶ Alexander Zhitomirsky, *Personal Collages 1931-1935*.

⁵³⁷ For example in his montage 'letter' to his wife 'Lyalin'ka come back!' (reproduced in Alexander Zhitomirsky, *Personal Collages 1931-1935*, p. 16.), the artist created a grotesque portrait of himself using a figure cut out from an illustrated magazine, crowned with a photograph of his own head. The image of his face is distorted and recalls Klinch's caricatures in the series *Our Enemies* published by Soyuzfoto for the 15th anniversary of the October Revolution.

for Vladimir Mayakovsky's poem *About This* [*Pro eto*] of 1923, but in creating his own visual poem about love, Zhitomirsky studied Rodchenko's illustrations from an historical distance. Two devices that he constantly borrowed from the founding father of Soviet photomontage are the close-up (making his wife Erika, look like Lilya Brik on the cover of *About This*) and using multiple images of one individual in a single montage.

Unlike Rodchenko, Zhitomirsky avoided the Dadaist technique of piling up disconnected images. His love poem images (his romance seems to have been much happier than the rocky relations between Mayakovsky and Lilya Brik) are more slick and cinematic than Rodchenko's montages. Zhitomirsky not only borrowed such traditional devices of film montage as the montage phrases introduced in the form of consecutive photo-stills, but he also copied the structure of film posters of the period (especially the designs of Georgy and Vladimir Stenberg). To a large extent, Zhitomirsky can be seen to be parodying cinema advertising. The artist turned himself and his wife into movie stars. In one composition he used a close-up of his face covered in shaving foam, wearing Buster Keaton's signature glasses (Figure 203). To the right of the close-up is a full-length image of Zhitomirsky dressed in a leather coat. This combination of a facial close-up with a full length figure was characteristic of film posters produced in the early 1930s by the Stenberg brothers, Mikhail Dlugach, Aleksandr Naumov and others (Figure 204).⁵³⁸ Zhitomirsky used a blow-up of Erika's head against

⁵³⁸ See Christopher Mount and Peter Kenez, *Stenberg Brothers: Constructing a Revolution in Soviet Design* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1999).; and Nina Baburina, *Plakat nemogo kino: Rossiya, 1900-1930* (Moscow: Art-Rodnik, 2001).

the background of the interior of New York's Grand Central Station, or combined her gigantic profile with a photograph of aircraft in a desert (Figures 205-206). The resulting compositions look like typical film posters.

Even Zhitomirsky's treatment of the close-up is more sophisticated than Rodchenko's use of Lilya Brik's portrait for the cover of *About This*. If Rodchenko discovered (in Russian visual culture) the power of the enlarged photo image of the de-contextualized human face, Zhitomirsky developed it further. His approach could be defined as a close-up of a close-up. According to Eisenstein, the close-up was the perfect device for the 'manipulation of images' because it is 'disengaged from common imagery' [*abstragirovan ot bytovoï izobrazitelnosti*].⁵³⁹ In Rodchenko's cover for *About This*, disengagement was achieved by cutting Lilya's face from the photograph. The image was removed from the illusionistic space of the snapshot and placed on the surface of the cover divided horizontally into two colours – black and white. Most of Zhitomirsky's close-ups set the image of the face against the background of a cityscape, an interior, or juxtaposed to the blown-up photograph of the mechanism of a wrist watch 'borrowed' from a magazine advertisement. All the album images are technically perfect, but fairly imitative, using easily identified sources. The young artist made one innovation, which he later developed further. The album contains a minimalistic montage composed of two elements: the enlarged eyes of Erika, the artist's wife, cropped from the photograph of her face, and, in the lower part of the composition, a dull black surface (Figure 207). The montage looks like a film

⁵³⁹ Sergei Eizenshtein, *Metod. Tainy masterstva* (Moscow: Muzei kino, Eizenshtein-tsent, 2002), II, p. 116.

screen in a dark cinema: the blown-up eyes of Erika gaze at the viewer, mimicking the stares of Western film stars of the period. Zhitomirsky was following a trend that had emerged in the early years of the century and reached its peak during the 1930s – a fascination with the static female gaze, with wide open eyes looking with almost inhuman concentration and intensity.⁵⁴⁰

Contrasting this ‘close-up of a close-up’ with the black surface was a first step towards developing short photo-stories, which Zhitomirsky started to produce during the Second World War. He seems to have been proud of his discovery because the montage with Erika’s eyes featured in other compositions in the album, including Zhitomirsky’s double self-portrait composed of two images: the artist as a young gentleman holding a pipe, sitting on a rolled carpet with ‘Erika’s gaze’ in the background; and an enlarged image of a sorrowful Zhitomirsky covering his face with both hands (Figure 208).

The album is filled with doppelgangers. It includes five double self-portraits of the artist, but unlike 1920s Soviet photomontage artists, Zhitomirsky did not use identical images and mainly employed contrasting sizes. One composition included three different photographs of his wife wearing the same dress, which were obviously taken during one photo session. All three Erikas are placed in an exotic sub-tropical landscape of overgrown palms and agaves (Figure 209).

Unlike Rodchenko’s use of multiple images of Mayakovsky in *About This*, or

⁵⁴⁰ The long gaze was not only an artistic device, but came to be seen as a sign of beauty in real life. Describing Hilde Schania, Alexander Waugh wrote, ‘Her poor vision forced her to stare intently with large dark eyes into people’s faces. Men found this attractive in the same way, a generation earlier, as Mahler, Zemlinsky, Klimt, Kokoschka, Werfel and Gropius had fallen for the charms of Alma Schindler, “the loveliest girl in Vienna”, whose slight deafness forced her to gaze intently upon men’s lips as they spoke.’ – Alexander Waugh, *The House of Wittgenstein: a Family at War* (London, Berlin, New York: Bloomsbury, 2008), p. 197.

Klucis' persistent repetition of Lenin's figure in the 'funeral montages', Zhitomirsky's multiplication of images has no narrative (or pseudo-narrative) function. The repetition was used to create a feeling of absurdity, a surreal, a dream-like illusion, which is achieved because the artist tried to articulate space according to the rules of linear perspective. The composition with the three Erikas recalls paintings by the Belgian Surrealist Paul Delvaux, which Zhitomirsky was unlikely to have seen. The second composition in the album employs illusionistic space and shows Erika aiming a rifle at a gigantic monkey in the upper right corner of the montage, which recalls the works of John Heartfield (Figure 210). The exact date of the honeymoon album is not known, but it was probably produced in the early 1930s. Heartfield started working for *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* [AIZ] in 1930, and the magazine was on sale at Moscow news-stands.⁵⁴¹ Zhitomirsky later recollected seeing an issue: 'In Moscow, on Kuznetsky Most, I bought a new issue of AIZ [*Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung*]. The last page of the magazine astounded me – it was an anti-fascist pamphlet. It was signed 'photomontage by John Heartfield'. The page was excellent and laconic. It was a clot of anger.'⁵⁴² Appropriately, the visual joke created by the young artist under the influence of the German master was his first step towards developing his own style of grotesque montage.

Some works in the album look like dangerous parodies of the stereotypical devices of Soviet visual propaganda. One of them consists of an enlarged

⁵⁴¹ AIZ was on sale in Moscow from the beginning of its publication. Issues of the magazine are visible in photographs of Moscow newsstands taken by Aleksandr Rodchenko in 1928.

⁵⁴² Alexander Zhitomirsky, *Iskusstvo politicheskogo fotomontazha* (Moscow: Plakat, 1983), p. 8.

photograph of Erika placed against a background of faceless masses of workers, and looks like a blasphemous remake of the traditional image of the leader as established by Gustavs Klucis and employed by numerous photomontage artists in posters and magazine illustrations until the late 1930s (Figure 211).

Zhitomirsky's album is not only interesting from an artistic point of view. It also gives us a rare glimpse into the private world of a successful young artist, building his career at the beginning of the 1930s. This private world is quite different to the world of official propaganda. Zhitomirsky was not only creating an imaginary trip to an inaccessible New York, or to idealized palm forests, but also narcissistically transforming himself and his wife into the protagonists of some kind of cinematic 'high-society' melodrama. It is stunning to see the extent to which he was fashion conscious; he doesn't appear twice in the same clothes. The photographic record of an imaginary trip is a monument not only to the artist and his wife, but also to their wardrobes. The stage design of the invented New York (sometimes composed of mixing images of Chicago and Berlin) represents an idealized West, as seen in Hollywood films, but is produced from the usual raw materials of Soviet photomontage – illustrations from foreign magazines. Later, in his propaganda works, Zhitomirsky used similar photographs of American cities to create a negative image of the 'stone jungles' of the imperialist West.⁵⁴³

⁵⁴³ Although Zhitomirsky dedicated all his creative life to create propaganda attacking the West, he preserved his youthful desire to travel abroad. During the late 1950s when overseas trips became possible for a select few, he used every opportunity to visit foreign countries. According to his son Vladimir Zhitomirsky, 'His dreams began to come true during Krushchev's 'thaw' in the middle of the 1950s, and he fought stubbornly to have Erika included in each journey. At the time it was not the done thing. The official policy was that one of each couple should remain behind in the USSR to serve as a pledge insuring the other's return from abroad. But father argued that these were not simply trips with his wife, but journeys undertaken with an assistant who was needed for his work.' (Vladimir Zhitomirsky, 'Years of Happiness, Years of Becoming', p. 18.).

Until the beginning of the 1940s, Zhitomirsky continued to produce advertising posters and work as a graphic designer. His ‘cinematic’ private experiments proved to be useful, because in the second half of the 1930s he was commissioned to design advertising posters for the Soviet organisation responsible for selling Soviet films abroad [*Soveksportfilm*].⁵⁴⁴ In 1938, he began working for *The Illustrated Newspaper* [*Illustrirovannaya gazeta*], published by *Pravda* and conceived as a Soviet version of the foreign illustrated press. It consisted of news photography with extended captions.⁵⁴⁵

Language Understandable to the Enemy

In June 1941, after the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, the management of the newspaper was transferred to the main political department of the Red Army. It was published twice monthly and was distributed to Soviet troops. In addition to the newspaper, a new type of publication was developed by the editorial office.

Zhitomirsky recollected:

I, together with my friend, was returning home from the editorial office. It was July 1941. We came back to the empty apartment. We talked a lot that evening. War had already been raging in our land for a month, but we

‘Quod licet Jovis non licet bovis’. In 1950, Zhitomirsky was appointed chief artist of the magazine *Sovetsky Soyuz*, published in 17 languages, which became the successor to *USSR in Construction*, so he could allow himself to argue with officials. The magazine was an important ideological publication under the direct Party supervision. This turned its staff into untouchables.

⁵⁴⁴ Also known as *Intorgkino*.

⁵⁴⁵ The newspaper began publication in June 1938. Its first editor-in-chief was Evgeniya Ezhova, the wife of the all-powerful Nikolai Ezhov, the Peoples Commissar of Interiors. In November 1938, when her husband’s position became shaky, she allegedly committed suicide. The newspaper then came under the management of Leopold Zheleznov, who was the executive secretary of *Pravda*.

were far from the battle. We fell asleep with an unpleasant and bitter feeling. We were woken up by a telephone ringing. The editorial office was calling. We had to leave home at 5 am – an urgent task was awaiting us. We thought that we still could sleep a bit until 5. We were again woken up by the telephone ringing. The curses I heard forced us to jump up from our sofas. We had overslept – unshaved, unwashed and hungry we ran to Kudrinskaya square, where we managed to find a car. At the editorial office we learned that it was the order of the chief of the Political Department of the Red Army – the design for the new magazine had to be ready by 9.00 am. I had at my disposal not hours but minutes and a pack of photographs delivered from the front. In 40 minutes the design was ready. In this way *Front Illustrierte* for German soldiers was born.⁵⁴⁶

The order to design this new magazine was given by Lev Mekhlis, a commissar of the first rank⁵⁴⁷ and head of the Red Army's Main Political Department. On 25 June 1941, a special Soviet Information Military-Political Bureau was established by the Main Political Department of the Red Army. The undertaking was of the utmost importance. Mekhlis, who led the Department, became the head of the new bureau. Dmitry Manuilsky, secretary of the Executive Committee of the Comintern became his deputy. The appointment of Manuilsky, who since 1922 had been involved in Comintern activities, coordinating and controlling the

⁵⁴⁶ Alexander Zhitomirsky, *Iskusstvo politicheskogo fotomontazha*, p. 10.

⁵⁴⁷ Military rank in the Soviet army equal to the rank of a general.

operations of communist parties abroad,⁵⁴⁸ was a logical step. The task of the new bureau was to disseminate propaganda and counter-propaganda amongst enemy troops and occupied or alien populations. Manuilsky's international experience as Secretary of the Comintern was invaluable for the Main Political Department of the Red Army.

It is not clear who came up with the idea of producing a special publication for enemy troops, and basing it at the editorial offices of *The Illustrated Newspaper*, but this was a wise move. Unlike other Soviet newspapers, *The Illustrated Newspaper* was initially founded as an imitation of French and German illustrated weeklies. It had decent printing facilities and was experienced in reproducing photography alongside newsprint. It was the perfect base for producing a propaganda publication directed at enemy soldiers, which would remind them of magazines with which they were familiar.

It was difficult, if not impossible, to utilize visual propaganda produced for internal consumption as material for dissemination among the enemy troops. Posters and leaflets intended for the Soviet population deployed an idiosyncratic mixture of conservative Socialist Realist imagery and pitiless cartoons employing the archetypal imagery of hate. In contrast, propaganda aimed at enemy soldiers was initially dominated by modernist approaches, which, the Soviet political establishment assumed, would be more comprehensible and familiar to

⁵⁴⁸ Dmitry Manuil'sky, started to work for the Comintern in 1922; from 1924 he was a member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern; in 1928 – 1943 he was the secretary of the Executive Committee and also the head of the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR (Bolsheviks) to the Comintern.

Westerners.⁵⁴⁹ Soviet posters had little chance of functioning as effective propaganda among enemy forces. The satirical images were not only anti-Nazi, they were also openly anti-German. Argyrios Pisiotis has explained:

Soviet propaganda called on soldiers and people to exterminate the Germans mercilessly, and to avenge their nation ... Furthermore, the iconography of posters reveals not only the total identification of the Nazi and the German, but also an unusually frequent depiction of Germans as low forms of life, especially rodents and insects.⁵⁵⁰

Seeing themselves and their countrymen depicted as rodents and insects would hardly have persuaded German soldiers to surrender.

Front Illustrierte Zeitung [FIZ] served as the primary propaganda vehicle directed at German and Axis troops.⁵⁵¹ The name deliberately recalled the title of the magazine *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* [AIZ],⁵⁵² which was published by the German Communist organization *Internationale Arbeitshilfe* [IAH] with the financial support of the Soviet Union. AIZ had become famous worldwide for John Heartfield's photomontages. FIZ was a broadsheet printed irregularly from 1941 to 1944. It mainly consisted of photographs with a minimum amount of text

⁵⁴⁹ Nazi propaganda used the same approach in its broadcasts aimed at Anglo-American soldiers. Radio programs broadcast from Berlin continually featured jazz, prohibited in the Third Reich, but popular in the United States and Britain. Peter Demetz, *Prague in Danger: The Years of German Occupation, 1939–45: Memories and History, Terror and Resistance, Theater and Jazz, Film and Poetry, Politics and War* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008), p. 111.

⁵⁵⁰ Argyrios K. Pisiotis, 'Images of Hate in the Art of War', in *Culture and Entertainment in Wartime Russia*, ed. by Richard Stites (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), p. 149.

⁵⁵¹ It was published in German, Hungarian, Italian, Finnish and Romanian.

⁵⁵² The magazine was published 1924–38.

encouraging the enemy forces to surrender. Issues of *FIZ* were packed into bomb casings and containers specially made by the Soviet air force, and dropped behind enemy lines.⁵⁵³

From the very beginning of the operation, Zhitomirsky's photomontages became the trademark of the new publication. Usually they were placed on the cover of the broadsheet. *FIZ* also used photographs produced by Arkady Shaikhet, Semen Fridlyand and others, who had previously been associated with the Russian Union of Proletarian Photographers [ROPF]⁵⁵⁴ and had worked for *USSR in Construction*. Among the younger photographers were Galina Sanko and Mark Redkin.⁵⁵⁵

In sharp contrast to the way all Germans had been treated as Nazis in mainstream Soviet visual propaganda, *FIZ* juxtaposed macabre, Heartfield-like photomontages of the Nazi leadership with images of simple German soldiers being used as cannon fodder.

To convince enemy troops that the bloodshed was senselessness, *FIZ* published letters allegedly found in the pockets of dead Germans, as well as photographs of

⁵⁵³ The Soviet military pilot Anatoly Russov remembered operations in Ukraine in 1941, 'We are attaching to the locks of bomb holders cluster bombs and containers with bundles of the magazine *Front Illustrierte* and leaflets. We are members of crews of different planes – TB -3, SU – 2, LI – 2, R – 5 temporarily gathered together into squadrons of night bombers and raiders.' Anatoly Russov, 'Skvoz' vspyshki chernogo i belogo', in *Iskusstvo politicheskogo fotomontazha* (Moscow: Plakat, 1983).

⁵⁵⁴ *ROPF* was established in 1929 in opposition to the photo section of the association *October* led by Aleksandr Rodchenko.

⁵⁵⁵ Raisa Mirer, 'Vospominaniya', *Ia pomnu. Vospominaniya Veteranov VOV* [accessed 16 December 2011].

their loved ones. Special issues of *Front Illustrierte* were dedicated to the ‘happy lives’ of German PoWs in Russian camps.

This approach seems to have been relatively successful. According to a report by the German Second Army, which was a part of the Army Group Centre, the propaganda leaflets of the Soviets were full of ‘cruelty and inhuman crudity’ and aimed at the simple German soldier: ‘He is addressed in folksy, soldierly, specifically local expressions. This language allows certain people to speak to the Germans, pretending that they are also German, abusing for this purpose also the names of those who were killed. They appeal to basic human feelings, such as a terror of death, fear of battle and danger, a yearning for wife and children, jealousy, nostalgia. All of these are opposed by the calls to surrender to the Red Army.’⁵⁵⁶ Nazi officers perfectly understood that the main task of Soviet propaganda was to create a division between the mass of German soldiers and the Führer, who along with the Nazi leadership, was accused of enjoying a luxurious and privileged lifestyle.

In *FIZ*, Soviet propaganda was translated into the language of international modernism with a strong, albeit rather old-fashioned German flavour, as epitomised by Willi Münzenberg’s 1930s publications.

Zhitomirsky later claimed that during the war he did not have any reproductions of works by Heartfield in his possession. He maintained that in the late 1930s he

⁵⁵⁶ RTsKhDNI Fond 7. Op. 125, delo 95, I. 123.

had burned his copies of *AIZ* because he lived with his family in one small room, overflowing with books, magazines and newspapers. He admitted that if the magazines had survived, he would have slavishly copied Heartfield's works.⁵⁵⁷ Despite the absence of examples of Heartfield's work, the influence of the German artist is obvious in Zhitomirsky's *FIZ* photomontages. These can be divided into three main groups: the grotesque montages which emulate Heartfield; compositions, usually containing two visual elements, which are constructed according to the rules of Soviet 'contrast propaganda' of the 1930s; and the minimalist narrative photo stories reduced to two or four elements and strongly influenced by cinema montage.

Zhitomirsky's grotesque photomontages appeared on the covers of *FIZ* and recalled Heartfield's works technically; most of them are illusionistic compositions. But here the similarity ends. Zhitomirsky did not so much mimic Heartfield, as try to translate the iconography of the Soviet war-time cartoons and satirical posters into the visual language of grotesque photomontage. Of course such iconography had to be adapted for consumption by German soldiers. Some of Zhitomirsky's images have no equivalent in the visual propaganda produced for a Soviet audience. We don't know how the topics for his *FIZ* montages were selected, but it is highly unlikely that they were developed by the artist alone.

⁵⁵⁷ 'During those years I was studying at art school. My room of six square meters, one corner of which was occupied by a Dutch stove, became extremely cramped because of the amassed books and magazines. One cold winter's night, I discovered that there was no firewood and heated the room by burning runs of magazines ... Stern 1941 began. When I started to produce propaganda for the enemy troops, I remembered the colossal power of Heartfield's works to influence the viewer. Photomontage became my weapon, Heartfield became my teacher. How sorry I was about the magazines burnt in the stove. It was bad, but at the same time good – if the magazines had been available, I would have blindly imitated Heartfield.' Alexander Zhitomirsky, *Iskusstvo politicheskogo fotomontazha*, p. 104.

Some of them were undoubtedly created by staff at the Red Army's Main Political Department. One of the frequently used iconographical types could be described as the pigmy Hitler versus the giants of German history. The choice of these giants was quite peculiar. In autumn 1941, Zhitomirsky produced a montage called *This Corporal is leading Germany into Catastrophe*⁵⁵⁸ (Figure 212). A gigantic portrait of Otto von Bismarck with his hand coming out of a heavy gilded frame points to the little figure of the Führer. Zhitomirsky later described how the montage was produced: he found a portrait of Bismarck in a pre-revolutionary encyclopedia, and selected a photo of Hitler from the trophy photographs of Nazi leaders sent by the Red Army's Political Department. He had no problem in finding the image of a picture frame, but it was difficult to find a convincing image of Bismarck's hand, 'All potential models selected by me had the plump hands of intellectuals, accustomed to work using only a pen.'⁵⁵⁹ Finally he found an appropriate hand belonging to an assistant in the photographic laboratory.

In April 1942, the Iron Chancellor appeared on the cover, pointing to a dwarfish Hitler digging a grave in front of a birch-wood cross crowned with a Nazi helmet and decorated with a plaque stating, 'On the Eastern front Hitler buried a generation of Germans' (Figure 213). The message on the montage was the same - 'This corporal is leading Germany into catastrophe.'⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁸ See Alexander Zhitomirsky, *PolitiCal Photomontage*, p. 8. In the published montage the caption was changed to 'This man is leading Germany into catastrophe.' I did not manage to locate a complete run of *FIZ* in Russian, European or North American libraries. Hence the description of works, published in *FIZ* is based on original montages from private collections or on those issues of the propaganda newspaper, which were found in different collections. The collection and/or the exact issue of *FIZ* is cited in the footnotes.

⁵⁵⁹ Alexander Zhitomirsky, *PolitiCal Photomontage*, p. 12.

⁵⁶⁰ *FIZ*, No. 7, 1942.

The following month, *FIZ*'s cover showed the gigantic figure of General Field Marshal von Moltke seizing a tiny Hitler by the scruff of the neck (Figure 214).

⁵⁶¹ *FIZ*'s real *coup de grace*, however, was delivered in November 1942. The cover montage depicted a young German pilot looking at an issue of *Front Illustrierte Zeitung* from April 1941 with the portrait of Bismarck pointing at Hitler (Figure 215). The young pilot was Heinrich Graf von Einsiedel, the great-grandson of the Iron Chancellor. In June 1942 the aristocratic pilot was transferred to the Eastern Front near Stalingrad. On 30 August, his plane was damaged; he was forced to land, and was captured by Soviet troops. The Soviet propaganda machine soon started to use the offspring of so illustrious ancestor.⁵⁶² Zhitomirsky's montage was an early example of this manipulation.

It is interesting that visual propaganda aimed at the Soviet population did not employ positive images of German historical figures - Bismarck was no more than the predecessor of Hitler. In the ideological literature of the period, both Bismarck and Moltke were considered the founding fathers of Prussian militarism. German history was interpreted as an endless struggle with Russia from the Middle Ages to the First World War. Posters depicting Russian victories over the Teutonic knights, Friedrich the Great and Kaiser Wilhelm were issued constantly.

⁵⁶¹ *FIZ*, No. 12, May 1942.

⁵⁶² See Heinrich Graf von Einsiedel, *The Shadow of Stalingrad: Being the Diary of a Temptation* (London: Allan Wingate, 1953).

Positive figures were needed for the propaganda directed at the German soldiers. Bismarck became one of them, but Zhitomirsky himself was no less important. The artist posed in Nazi uniform for numerous montages published in *Front Illustrierte Zeitung*. These works depicting the figure or face of a generalized German soldier can be divided into two groups: compositions depicting the horror of war, and images of revolt or revenge. To the first group belongs a photomontage composed of a close-up of the face of a German soldier gazing madly, with half open mouth.⁵⁶³ The blown-up head of the soldier is surrounded by darkness and the fumes of burning tanks, while in the foreground are the bodies of dead Nazis (Figure 216). In this composition, Zhitomirsky continued the game that he started in his private montages, of being both ‘actor’ and ‘director’ in the world of his imagery. The attempts to convey human emotions in his early compositions proved to be useful training for his propaganda work.

The second group depicts German soldiers taking revenge on Hitler for the horrors of the war. This type of montage was rooted in the iconography of the Soviet poster. The only change Zhitomirsky made was to replace the heroic Red Army private with his German counterpart. The disillusioned German soldier bayonets the hand of a diminutive Hitler, sitting at his desk covered with military orders (Figure 217).⁵⁶⁴ This type of composition was frequently repeated in Soviet war posters. One of the first posters published after the Nazi invasion was designed by the Kukryniksy⁵⁶⁵ and depicted a Red Army soldier bayoneting a rat-

⁵⁶³ Alexander Zhitomirsky, *PolitiCal Photomontage*, p. 11.

⁵⁶⁴ Alexander Zhitomirsky, *PolitiCal Photomontage*, p. 29.

⁵⁶⁵ Kukryniksy, *We Shall Mercilessly Crush and Destroy the Enemy!*, 24 June 1941.

like Führer trying to come through the torn text of the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact (Figure 218).⁵⁶⁶

In another composition, the artist impersonated a German soldier putting a hound with Hitler's head in cage labelled '*Für tolle Hunde*' [*For Mad Dogs*], (Figure 219). The image of the Führer as a mad dog was widely used in Soviet propaganda during the war. TASS Window No 109 called *Chain Him!* released as early as 5 August 1941, depicted a chained and caged dog (or beast, as it was called in the versified caption) with Hitler's head (Figure 220).⁵⁶⁷ This image was recycled in numerous cartoons, leaflets, and posters produced in the Soviet Union during the war.

The imagery used in the montages for *FIZ* was different to mainstream Soviet propaganda in one important respect: it represented German soldiers either as victims of Hitler's militarism or as heroes revolting against the Nazi war machine. The composition of montages depicting heroic German soldiers putting an end to the crimes of the Nazi leadership was borrowed from the canonical Soviet poster showing the gigantic figure of the Red Army man destroying the Nazi dwarfs (Figure 221).⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁶ The claw-like hands of Hitler in the Kukryniksy poster are very similar to those in Zhitomirsky's montage.

⁵⁶⁷ The poster was designed by Sergei Kostin and produced in an edition of 100 copies.

⁵⁶⁸ The hierarchical composition of the giant versus the dwarf could be defined as an archetypal depiction of battle with the enemy, developed in ancient Egyptian art and later used in early medieval Europe. It was 'rediscovered' by poster artists at the end of the 19th century and recycled during the First World War in the visual propaganda of all the belligerent powers.

For the USSR's domestic population, German soldiers were portrayed as soulless enemies, rapists, killers, wild beasts and vermin which had to be exterminated. The slogan 'Kill a German' dominated Soviet war-time propaganda until early 1945.

Although German soldiers were shown in a positive light on the pages of *FIZ*, the Nazi leadership was depicted in a way that followed the general trend established in Soviet visual propaganda from the beginning of the war. Zhitomirsky constantly used images from the Nazi bestiary, created and developed by numerous artists, but he does not seem to have developed any new visual metaphors. He predominantly acted as a translator, relocating the villains of the cartoons and conventional posters into the illusionistic space of photomontage. While this re-interpretation was not really original, it was effective. The vicious imagery of the enemy reduced to the archetypes of hate gained a new quality from being transformed from linear drawings into photographs.

Zhitomirsky often used the image of Joseph Goebbels, the Reich's Minister of Propaganda, who because of his short stature and physical defects became a favourite target for international satire, second only to Hitler himself. In *Goebbels: We Occupied a New High Point in the Caucasus*, Goebbels is depicted as a little monkey standing on a mountain of soldiers' bodies, talking into a microphone (Figure 222). According to the artist, 'The figure of Goebbels is put together partly from his photographs (his hands, jacket, collar, hairdo and

microphone) and partly from the photograph of a monkey. That's how I have always envisaged Goebbels.⁵⁶⁹

Zhitomirsky was not the only artist to mock Goebbels. As early as 18 July 1941, Boris Efimov had depicted the propaganda minister as the evil twin of Mickey Mouse, dressed in the shorts, white boots and gloves of the Walt Disney hero, for a cartoon published in *Pravda* (Figure 223).⁵⁷⁰ Efimov's invention was too obvious to call it original; it seems that copyright of the comparison between Goebbels and Mickey Mouse actually belonged to another high ranking Nazi – Joachim von Ribbentrop.⁵⁷¹

Efimov not only turned Goebbels into the horrible double of the Disney hero, but also depicted him as a monkey. In his poster produced for TASS Windows studio in September 1943, a miserable monkey-mouse Goebbels was asking Hitler (who was running away from Moscow) what he should do with the granite, which had allegedly been prepared for the construction of the Fuhrer's monument in the conquered Soviet capital (Figure 224).

Numerous Soviet propaganda artists used this obvious visual metaphor. The Kukryniksy constantly recycled the image of the Nazi marmoset. In a poster depicting the German leadership as a travelling circus, Goebbels was shown as a

⁵⁶⁹ Zhitomirsky, *PolitiCal Photomontage*, p. 16.

⁵⁷⁰ Peter Zegers, 'Storied Windows', in *Windows on the War: Soviet TASS Posters at Home and Abroad, 1941-1945* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2011), p. 169.

⁵⁷¹ 'For all his adoration, Goebbels was an unlikely Nazi. Dwarf-like and club-footed, he was by no means a model member of the master-race, something his enemies harped on with glee. Ribbentrop would call him Mickey Mouse.' Piers Brendon, *The Dark Valley: A Panorama of the 1930s* (New York: Knopf, 2000), p. 91.

monkey, with one fountain pen in his paw and another by his tail (Figure 225).⁵⁷²

In 1944, the artists depicted a monkey looking at Goebbels' portrait, with the caption, 'I would strangle myself from anguish, if I looked like him' (Figure 226).

⁵⁷³ In another poster, the Kykryniksy showed the propaganda minister as a little monkey sitting on the elbow of Hitler the organ-grinder (Figure 227).⁵⁷⁴

Zhitomirsky frequently returned to the image of Goebbels and developed two ways of caricaturing him. One approach was to combine images of Goebbels' face with a monkey's muzzle (Figure 228). Another method was to use distortion, like Klinch did in his cartoons of Western politicians (See chapter 4). Zhitomirsky used this 'distorting mirror' method for *There Are Lucky Ones and Unlucky Ones* [*Pechvögel und Glkspilz*], a cover montage for *FIZ*,⁵⁷⁵ which fused traditional contrast propaganda and the political cartoon (Figure 229). It depicted Goebbels as a monkey jumping on an issue of the official newspaper *Das Reich*, while holding in his paw a photograph of the wedding of field-marshal Herman Goering (who was obviously the lucky one). To the left of the jovial field marshal, the artist placed images of dead German soldiers. Another version of this composition exists (Figure 230),⁵⁷⁶ in which Goebbels' face is turned into a cartoon not through the use of distortion, but with the help of photographic elements.

⁵⁷² Kukryniksy, *In Transit from Germany, the Circus "Hitler and Company"*, TASS Window 468.

⁵⁷³ Kukryniksy, *The Monkey of Krylov About Goebbels*, TASS Window 1109.

⁵⁷⁴ Kukryniksy, *The Last Item on the Program*, TASS Window 1119.

⁵⁷⁵ *FIZ*, No. 10 (54), April 1943.

⁵⁷⁶ Zhitomirsky, *PolitiCal Photomontage*, p. 27.

In his war propaganda, Zhitomirsky followed the tradition of John Heartfield's montages, but only with respect to the formal qualities of the illusionistic satirical photomontage. The iconography of Zhitomirsky's satirical montages was deeply connected to the images of the Soviet satirical propaganda and political cartoons of the period. He converted traditional graphic caricatures into the medium of photomontage. This gave the constantly recycled images (travelling from newspaper pages to posters and back again), a new and unexpected quality of surreal absurdity, but it did not change their essence.

Zhitomirsky's tribute to the war time bestiary, the obvious resource for every satirical artist, was not limited to the monkey-Goebbels. The image of Hitler as a mad dog, which he employed, was also used by poster artists like Sergei Kostin⁵⁷⁷ and Pavel Sokolov-Skalya (Figure 231).⁵⁷⁸ In Zhitomirsky's photomontage celebrating the Nazi defeat at Sebastopol, he represented Hitler as a vulture sitting on a mountain of German corpses (Figure 232).⁵⁷⁹ This composition is extremely close to the poster of Sokolov-Skalya depicting Hitler as a vulture sitting on human skulls wearing Wehrmacht helmets (Figure 233).⁵⁸⁰

Some of the images Zhitomirsky used in his photomontages were not merely rooted in Soviet war-time iconography, but possessed a universal, archetypal character. One of them was the image of Hitler as a spider. Spider imagery had

⁵⁷⁷ Sergei Kostin, TASS Window 109.

⁵⁷⁸ Pavel Sokolov-Skalya, TASS Window 981.

⁵⁷⁹ Zhitomirsky, *PolitiCal Photomontage*, p. 20.

⁵⁸⁰ Pavel Sokolov-Skalya, *Futile Efforts*, TASS Window 1091.

been used in European cartoons since the Napoleonic wars (Figure 234).⁵⁸¹ It had acquired a new vitality at the beginning of the twentieth century in anti-Semitic propaganda. The spider-bloodsucker (referring to the blood libel) became a favourite image for anti-Semitic pamphlets and newspapers in Russia (Figure 235).⁵⁸² By the 1930s, spiders had been reclaimed for both German anti-Bolshevik propaganda and Soviet anti-Nazi propaganda (Figures 236 - 237). The iconography was revised – the spider became a symbol of dark forces attempting to dominate the world.

These powers of evil could be various. The spider Jew riding the globe⁵⁸³ symbolized the world Jewish plot. A spider-monster with a skull instead of a head, wearing a Red Army helmet, represented the Bolsheviks' conspiracy to dominate the world as in the poster *Der Bolschewismus. Grosse antibolschewistische Schau* produced for the *Great Anti-Bolshevik Exhibition* in April 1937 (Figure 237).⁵⁸⁴ In Soviet war-time propaganda this political arachnophobia was exploited in numerous images of Hitler as a spider. Vladimir Lebedev's poster *Spiders in a Jar* depicted a gigantic spider with Hitler's head, watching the struggle of two little spiders representing Hungary and Romania (Figure 238).⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸¹ See for instance, Thomas Rowlandson, *The Corsican Spider in His Web*, 1808.; Katarzyna Michalski and Sergiusz Michalski, *Spider* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010), pp. 144–146.

⁵⁸² Michalski and Michalski, *Spider*, p. 149.

⁵⁸³ Michalski and Michalski, *Spider*, p. 151.

⁵⁸⁴ The similarity between Nazi and Soviet images of the enemy was often striking. The same year that the *Der Bolschewismus* poster was published, Boris Klinch produced *Fascism is the Enemy of the Nations*, in which the swastika was transformed into a spider with a skull wearing a German military helmet.

⁵⁸⁵ Vladimir Lebedev, *Spiders in a Jar*, TASS Window 530.

Zhitomirsky also used spider imagery. In a 1943 photomontage for *FIZ*,⁵⁸⁶ he invited German soldiers to kill the ‘brown spider’ [*Braune Spinne*] by depicting a bayoneted spider-Hitler, who was practically pinned to the map of Germany by a Wehrmacht infantryman (Figure 239). Zhitomirsky’s treatment of the spider is strongly reminiscent of Lebedev’s poster in which the Führer’s head was added to the body of a spider. The only difference was that Lebedev had decorated the spider’s spine with a cross and Zhitomirsky used the Nazi swastika.

Another image that was constantly recycled during the Second World War was a human skull wearing a military helmet. This twentieth-century version of the *Vanitas* compositions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had become popular during the First World War. Each of the warring countries liked to depict a human skull in the military headgear of the adversary’s army. The universal message of *Ecclesiastes* was transformed into mockery of the enemy. The symbol of human mortality, the skull, was crowned with the helmets of German cavalry regiments, or of the Scottish Glengarry troops, (depending on who was facing whom on the frontline) and this became part of the visual repertoire of illustrated magazines and propaganda posters (Figures 240 – 241). In the *Vanitas* still-lives, the skull never wore a helmet. Sometimes the skull was placed next to helmets or armour as in the composition by the Dutch artist Juriaen van Streeck (1632-1687) from the collection of the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, or Jan Janz Treck’s painting of 1648 from the collection of the National Gallery in London

⁵⁸⁶ *FIZ*, No. 10 (54), April 1943.

(Figures 242–243). In the *Vanitas* still-lives, skulls, symbolizing the transient nature of human life and the futility of human endeavours, usually wore dried-up or crumbling laurel wreathes. In the twentieth century, this symbol of earthly fame was replaced by a symbol related to mass warfare. The iconography of the skull in a military helmet was also used during the interwar period. In Soviet propaganda, it signified the aggressive intentions of the capitalist West as in Boris Klinch's poster *The Face of War*. During the Second World War, its meaning changed. A skull in a German helmet or a SS officer's cap signified the imminent defeat of the Nazis and the death waiting for German soldiers in the snowfields of Russia. The image was persistently used in conventional graphic posters by Pavel Sokolov-Skalya,⁵⁸⁷ the Kukryniksy,⁵⁸⁸ and others (Figures 244–245). In these, the helmeted skull was usually a mere detail in the overall design, but Zhitomirsky created a photomontage in which the only element was a skull wearing a German helmet (Figure 246).⁵⁸⁹ Placed against a dark background, with lines of grave crosses on the horizon, Zhitomirsky's skull symbolised the death awaiting Germans in Russia. In another montage, the skull in a helmet played a satirical role. The composition was divided into two parts. On the left was the cover of *Mein Kampf* featuring Hitler's portrait and caption 'Sein Kampf' [His Struggle]. On the right was a parody of the cover of the Führer's book. Instead of Hitler, there was a skull in a military helmet, placed on the body of a fallen German soldier. The title on the mocking cover was 'Your Death' [*Dien Tod*] (Figure 247).

⁵⁸⁷ Pavel Sokolov-Skalya, *Dead Head*, TASS Window 700.

⁵⁸⁸ Kukryniksy, *Tears, Laugh and Death*, TASS Window 873.

⁵⁸⁹ *FIZ*, No. 11, May 1941.

Zhitomirsky used a very different iconographic repertoire to that employed by Heartfield, although both artists quite often reduced their creative input to translating conventional cartoons into the medium of photomontage. Heartfield often experimented with the notion of irrationality rooted in the naturalistic and illusionistic space of photography, as in *Hurray, the Butter is All Gone* [*Hurrah, die Butter ist alle!*], where the absurdity of the action is reinforced by its visual verisimilitude.⁵⁹⁰

Zhitomirsky was not able to add surreal overtones to his propaganda messages. He remained faithful to the iconographic corpus of Soviet propaganda, which he tried to adjust to the demands of the visual language of Heartfield's photomontages. Zhitomirsky's rootedness in the Soviet cartoon tradition sometimes led him to make mistakes. Soviet artists often created direct visualizations of figures of speech, folk proverbs, or sayings. These added a desirable element of comic absurdity to the cartoons, while mimicking folklore. Old Russian sayings adapted to the needs of the day became the subjects of countless posters and cartoons produced during the Second World War. Sometimes generic figures of speech were visualized. The avalanche of such 'fakelore' corresponded to the political trend of Russo-centrism, which became the fundamental ideological doctrine of national-bolshevism.

⁵⁹⁰ *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung*, 19 December 1935.

One of the favourite figures of speech, which was constantly translated into a visual form, was the expression ‘take by pincers’ [‘vizyat v keshchi’], which means ‘to encircle’. Posters with gigantic red pincers grabbing Hitler or unlucky German generals became one of the most hackneyed stereotypes of war-time agitprop. The image of pincers was constantly used by the Kukryniksy⁵⁹¹ and other artists (Figure 248). Zhitomirsky also used pincers. In September 1944 his cover photomontage for *Front Illustrierte Zeitung* depicted three arms with the insignias of the Allies on the sleeves holding the handles of gigantic pincers cracking the Nazi swastika. The montage was called *Hitler’s Germany in Pincers* [*Hitlerdeutschland in der Zange*] (Figure 249).⁵⁹² This kind of literal translation of a Russian figure of speech into images might have been effective for propaganda aimed at the Soviet population, but was inappropriate for a publication produced for German consumption.

Zhitomirsky’s montage looked like a strange combination of two quite different visual tropes. The masculine hands squeezing the arms of the pincers were obvious quotes from works by Klucis, Heartfield and Koretsky of the early 1930s, depicting representatives of the international proletariat (or, in the case of Heartfield, only their hands) firmly holding the flagstaff of the red banner. Yet the new wartime unity had to be acknowledged, albeit subtly. As a result, the hand with the Soviet insignia on the sleeve holds one arm of the pincers, while American and British hands hold the other. This division referred to the two fronts

⁵⁹¹ See for example, the Kukryniksy, *Three Years of War*, TASS Window 993.; and Kukryniksy, *Hitler and His Military Machine*, TASS Window 1102.

⁵⁹² *FIZ*, No. 15 (88), September 1944.

encircling the Reich, but also stressed both the proportional role in the war effort (one Soviet hand keeping one handle of the pincers versus two, British and American, keeping the other) and a certain distance that existed between the Soviets and their allies. The tradition of the propaganda photomontages of the 1930s was combined with the popular device of visualizing verbal metaphors, which was characteristic of Soviet cartoons during the war.

Satirical photomontages played a prominent role in *Front Illustrierte Zeitung*, but contrast propaganda dominated the publication. These compositions consisted of two types. The first one represented the disparity between the lavish lifestyle of the Nazi leadership and the miserable conditions endured by ordinary soldiers, doomed to die in the trenches of the Eastern front. For instance, a happy Herman Goering presses a bundle of banknotes to his chest, while behind him a thin widow with a child holds a ‘killed in battle’ notice and a portrait of her husband (Figure 250). The caption says ‘Goering’s profit is bought with the blood of soldiers and the tears of widows.’⁵⁹³ This montage, which recalls Heartfield’s approach, appeared in April 1943⁵⁹⁴ on the pages of the *Front Illustrierte Zeitung*, and clearly belongs to the tradition of Soviet contrast propaganda in the style of the photo series *Theirs and Ours* [*U nikh i u nas*] produced by Soyuzfoto in 1932. In another instance, a page of *FIZ* is divided in four. The two upper images depict Him [*Er*] and You [*Du*] (Figure 251). “You” is a German soldier who has to compare himself to the high ranking Nazi, who is depicted in the left side of the page, standing with a fashionably attired wife, a shiny Mercedes, and impressive

⁵⁹³ *FIZ*, No. 10, 1942.

⁵⁹⁴ *FIZ*, No. 10 (54), April 1943.

castle in the background. On the right side is a photograph of the war veteran in a worn-out uniform. He has lost his leg in battle and leans on a pair of crutches. His head is turned to the left as if he is looking with disdain at the slick Nazi bigwig.

Two images placed behind are titled *Their Son and Their Home* and *Your Son and Your Home*. Of course, their son is a young dandy in evening dress leaning on a piano; their house is palatial and full of luxury. The son of the German soldier to whom the composition is addressed is depicted as a sad proletarian boy standing with his dogs in a street which has been reduced to rubble by aerial bombardment. The layout of the page, the use of fonts of contrasting size, and the inclusion next to the lower right photograph of a gigantic exclamation mark recall Constructivist graphic design of the 1920s.

The second type of visual contrast employed by Zhitomirsky on the pages of the *Front Illustrierte Zeitung* could be defined thematically as a choice between life and death. To represent this he often juxtaposed rows of German soldiers and rows of grave crosses made of birch wood at makeshift German military cemeteries in Russia. This comparison was used by mainstream Soviet visual propaganda aimed at the local population. One of the Kyryniksy's best war-time posters showed German soldiers marching into battle and morphing first into swastikas and then into wooden crosses (Figure 252).⁵⁹⁵ Zhitomirsky's approach was different and recalled the working method of the Soyuzfoto series *Theirs and Ours* [*U nikh i u nas*] in 1932. Like them, he tried to select images that possessed

⁵⁹⁵ Kukryniksy, *Transformations of "Fritzes"*, TASS Window 640.

a certain visual similarity, but were strikingly different in content, such as columns of Soviet tractors versus Western cannons. Comparing a row of soldiers and a row of military graves⁵⁹⁶ used the same principle. Sometimes Zhitomirsky simply doctored the same image. His March 1942 cover for *FIZ* was composed of two images: a column of German soldiers in smart summer uniforms and a row of crosses with a few soldiers in winter attire standing among them (Figure 253). Later Zhitomirsky wrote, ‘The basis of the montage is a photograph of glossy German soldiers on parade. The reproduction of it was made; the snow was painted white, the sky grey. Retouching removed the majority of soldiers from the row, leaving only their helmets. Crosses made of grey paper were glued under them, so that it seemed as if the helmets were put on them.’⁵⁹⁷

Propaganda, showing German soldiers having to choose between death in Russia and a happy life in Soviet captivity or in their homeland was reiterated from issue to issue. The montages varied in quality and approach. One heavily retouched montage represented a German infantryman at a crossroads, facing the hard choice of whether to go into battle or return to his idyllic rural dwelling (Figure 254).⁵⁹⁸ Another montage was composed of three images – the undecided soldier in the centre, and two possibilities open to him – to be ‘*with Hitler*’ as a skeleton in Wehrmacht uniform buried in the snow, or to have ‘*escaped from Hitler!*’ as

⁵⁹⁶ *FIZ*, No. 8 (52), 1943.

⁵⁹⁷ Alexander Zhitomirsky, ‘Kak eto sdelano. Tvorchesky protsess, tekhnologiya fotomontazha’, in *Iskusstvo politicheskogo fotomontazha* (Moscow: Plakat, 1983), p. 109.

⁵⁹⁸ *FIZ*, No. 8, 1942.

one of a group of happy PoWs in front of a cosy tiled stove, one of whom is playing with a kitten (Figure 255).⁵⁹⁹

The highly idealized depiction of life for German PoWs in Soviet captivity became one of the dominant topics of *FIZ*. Happy Germans, who had managed to escape from Hitler, are shown fishing with a Russian boy, while their comrades decompose on the battlefield.⁶⁰⁰ Officers in impeccable uniforms play croquet⁶⁰¹ on a grassy lawn at a prison camp (Figure 256). The work that prisoners undertake is joyful: usually they are shown harvesting in sunny fields, smiling and well (Figure 257).⁶⁰² The staged photographs of this ‘merry imprisonment’ are in stark contrast to reality. The Soviet Union had not ratified the Hague Convention and did not allow the International Red Cross to provide any assistance to German PoWs in the USSR or to their Soviet counterparts in the Third Reich. The inhuman treatment of Soviet prisoners in Germany was matched by the brutality of the Soviet camps run by the GUPVI [*Glavnoe upravlenie po delam voennoplennyykh in internirovannykh* – The Main Department on Affairs of Prisoners of War and Internees].⁶⁰³

Zhitomirsky did not limit himself to simple compositions based on the standard recipes of 1930s propaganda. In using visual contrasts, he refined the

⁵⁹⁹ *FIZ*, No. 1 (37), 1944.

⁶⁰⁰ *FIZ*, No. 15-16 (59-60), 1943.

⁶⁰¹ *FIZ*, No. 20-21 (64-65), July 1943.

⁶⁰² *FIZ*, No. 15-16 (59-60), January 1943.

⁶⁰³ GUPVI like the infamous GULAG (the Main Department of Camps) was under the command of the NKVD (Peoples Commissariat of Internal Affairs). It managed about 4,000 camps for more than four million people. GUPVI was responsible not only for PoW's but also for Soviet citizens whom the Nazis had taken for forced labor in Germany and who were then repatriated to the USSR at the end of the war. See Stefan Karner, *Im Archipel GUPVI: Kriegsgefangenschaft Und Internierung in Der Sowjetunion 1941-1956* (Wien-München: R. Oldenbourg, 1995).

straightforward device of juxtaposing two images that were visually similar but different in content. From time to time, he also tried to turn propaganda montages into a mini photo-series, or a narrative using a minimal number of images. His fascination with cinema montage, which was evident in his early private albums, was reflected in the pages of *FIZ* in works like *Three Dates* (Figure 258).⁶⁰⁴ For this, Zhitomirsky used just three images: a photograph of a sad girl crying over a letter, a snapshot of lovers kissing under an old tree, and the image of an explosion on a battlefield. Zhitomirsky recollected, ‘Everything started with a trophy snapshot of a German soldier saying goodbye to his girlfriend. I glued it onto the background of a tree which looked like an explosion. Afterwards I combined an image of a field covered with the corpses of German soldiers and an image of an explosion, which looked like a tree, and I put it on the background [of the first image – K.A.]. In the lower part of the montage I placed a photograph of a girl reading a letter – near her face is a handkerchief, and tears are sparkling. The background around her was made dark by means of an airbrush. It creates a gloomy mood.’⁶⁰⁵ In this way, the artist produced a cinematic montage, in which the combination of images created a narrative meaning.

The influence of cinema is even more obvious in the composition *Never Again* of 1942 (Figure 259).⁶⁰⁶ Zhitomirsky constructed it according to the same principle as the composition in which the enlarged eyes of his wife Erika are contrasted with a black rectangle. In the upper part of *Never Again*, the artist placed a close-

⁶⁰⁴ Ne boltai Collection.

⁶⁰⁵ Zhitomirsky, ‘Kak eto sdelano. Tvorchesky protsess, tekhnologiya fotomontazha’.

⁶⁰⁶ Reproduced in Zhitomirsky, *Personal Collages 1931-1935*, p. 8.

up of a female face, which is cut off slightly above the end of her nose. She stares intently at the viewer. In the corner of her right eye, Zhitomirsky painted a quite naturalistic tear. Beneath is an image of a deserted dug-out, which at first sight could be taken for a grave. Empty cartridges and steel helmets are scattered on the ground. The lower photograph is much darker than the image of the crying woman. The overall structure of the contrasts follows the experiment in the private album. A formal experiment was turned into visual propaganda.

A cinematic approach was also used in the layout of *Front Illustrierte Zeitung*. Although Zhitomirsky's montages were influenced by Heartfield, the design of *FIZ* was not like *AIZ*, although both publications often used the same italic fonts. Zhitomirsky followed the same principle that Nikolai Troshin had used as the basis for his design of *USSR in Construction*, i.e. trying to create an illustrated publication, which looked like a sequence of film stills. Sometimes, in *FIZ*, such sequences were actually presented as if they were film stills, and the photographs were given black perforated edges. This was done in the issue of April 1944,⁶⁰⁷ celebrating the advance of Soviet troops from Stalingrad in central Russia to Lvov (Lviv) in Ukraine (Figure 260). The layout was divided into three sections. In the centre the artist placed a map with a straight line showing the Red Army's 1800- kilometre advance. Above and below this, were photographs that looked like film stills and illustrated the carnage of the Nazi troops, including dead soldiers, destroyed tanks, and burned-out trucks.

⁶⁰⁷ *FIZ*, No. 7 (80), April 1944.

In following the example of the cinematic design of the *USSR in Construction*, Zhitomirsky faced a problem. Unlike that large-format, multi-page magazine, *Front Illustrierte Zeitung* was a modest publication, which from 1942 was A4 in size. Usually it consisted of just four pages. *FIZ* had to be small enough to be easily hidden in the pocket of the soldier's trench coat. To design it as sequence of stills was a difficult task. The narrative could not be extensive and the photo-story had to be reduced to few shots. Nevertheless, Zhitomirsky demonstrated an impressive skill in manipulating these limited visual means.

The layout of *Front Illustrierte Zeitung* often employed Constructivist devices that were no longer being used in European graphic design of the 1940s. It was full of illustrations placed at strange angles and photographs cut into round shapes, so that the composition of the magazine's pages was reminiscent of Suprematist geometry (Figure 261).⁶⁰⁸ It recalled Troshin's designs, such as his layout for the November 1934 issue of *USSR in Construction* (Figure 262), although Zhitomirsky added some features of his own. These predated the style of *USSR in Construction*, and included elements from early Constructivist graphic design such as enlarged exclamation marks⁶⁰⁹ which Aleksei Gan had used in 1922⁶¹⁰ and Aleksandr Rodchenko in 1923- 1924.⁶¹¹ Zhitomirsky also used pointing arrows,⁶¹² which were favourite devices of Gustavs Klucis, who first

⁶⁰⁸ *FIZ*, No. 13, 1943.

⁶⁰⁹ *FIZ*, No. 10 (54), April 1943.

⁶¹⁰ Illustrated in Aleksandr Lavrent'ev, *Laboratoriya konstruktivizma. Opyty graficheskogo issledovaniya* (Moscow: Grant, 2000), p. 154.

⁶¹¹ Lavrent'ev, *Laboratoriya konstruktivizma. Opyty graficheskogo issledovaniya*, p. 160.

⁶¹² *FIZ*, No. 2 (74), February 1944.

used them in his montages dedicated to Lenin's death in 1924 (Figure 263). Later, such arrows were adopted by Rodchenko and other Constructivists.

FIZ's best layouts were usually produced by skilfully manipulating the dramatic shots taken by staff photographers. Zhitomirsky perfectly understood the power of the photograph and designed *FIZ* pages to reinforce it. This is demonstrated clearly in one of his best layouts: a two-page spread fully occupied by a photograph of a crowd of German PoWs marching through the streets of Moscow on 17 July 1944.⁶¹³ 57,000 prisoners from the Central German Army Group [*Heeresgruppe Mitte*] captured in Belorussia were transported to Moscow to march through the Soviet capital. The column of exhausted and dirty PoWs stretched for three kilometres and was followed by trucks with sprinkler systems, to wash away 'the Nazi dirt' from the city's pavements.⁶¹⁴ This re-staging of a Roman triumphal parade was brutal, but spectacular. *Front Illustreirte Zeitung* published a special issue dedicated to the event,⁶¹⁵ not explaining its ritual character, but simply reporting the German PoWs' march through Moscow on the way to camps, where they would wait for the end of the war and their return to their families. Clearly, Soviet propaganda officers hoped that the Wehrmacht soldiers did not know that Moscow was situated a long way from the transit routes to the GUPVI camps.

⁶¹³ *FIZ*, No. 12 (85), July 1944.

⁶¹⁴ Sergei Lipatov and Valery Yakimenko, 'Marsh cherez Moskvu. Stalin, prograv cherez stolitsu kolonnu izmozhdennykh nemtsev, khotel pochuvstvovat' sebya triumfatorom', *Nezavisimoe voennoe obozrenie*, 16 July 2004.

⁶¹⁵ *FIZ*, No. 12 (85), July 1944.

Two pages of the spread were occupied by one photograph, showing the sea of PoWs marching through Moscow. It was captioned, ‘Thousands and more thousands’ (Figure 264). The first word was placed closer to the upper margin of the left page, the conjunction ‘and’ was put in the middle of the page in a larger font. The last two words, printed in the largest font and followed by an exclamation mark, were placed close to the lower margin of the right-hand page. This type of Constructivist ‘ladder’ had often been used in posters and layouts during the 1920s and 1930s. The increase in font size followed the increase in the size of the captured German soldiers, corresponding to linear perspective.

Publication of *FIZ* was interrupted in the second half of 1944. The Red Army had now crossed the borders of the Soviet Union and was fighting in Eastern and Central Europe. A centralized propaganda aimed at enemy soldiers was no longer needed. The task was left to the political departments of the advancing armies.

FIZ remained a unique experiment in the practice of the Soviet press in general and wartime propaganda in particular. Its special function and its specific target group allowed it to preserve and recycle modernist devices, which by the beginning of the Second World War were completely exiled from mainstream Soviet publications. Zhitomirsky was protected by the untouchable status that the Main Political Department of the Red Army [GLAVPUR] gave him, so he could allow himself to indulge in ‘formalism’. Yet his formalism was of a rather specific kind. Although *Front Illustrierte Zeitung* was initially envisaged as a remake of *AIZ*, it actually became a mixture of various influences. Heartfield’s

photomontages, Troshin's layouts, and early Constructivist typography all left their imprint on the pages of this illustrated leaflet, which had the aim of convincing German soldiers to surrender. In a sense, *FIZ* became the final offspring of Constructivist graphic design, the very existence of which was guaranteed only by its peculiar status. In his photomontages, Aleksandr Zhitomirsky succeeded in combining the tradition of Heartfield's vicious political satire with the no less vicious imagery of official Soviet propaganda. The artist followed the trend of the time. His creativity was dedicated to ridiculing and demonizing the political enemy. In this undertaking, he was no different to John Heartfield, his Soviet colleagues, or to their Nazi counterparts, all of whom populated the mass consciousness of the first half of the twentieth century with rats, spiders, snakes and other creatures with the faces of Hitler and Stalin.

Zhitomirsky's problem was that his work was not known inside the USSR. *FIZ* was created solely for foreign consumption, despite the fact that the foreigners it addressed were often situated just a few kilometres from Moscow. The magazine was not published in Russian and was not distributed locally. There is, therefore, no complete run of the publication either in the State Russian Library in Moscow, or in the National Russian Library in St. Petersburg. At the end of the war, Zhitomirsky was not given any award. He had to adapt himself to post- *FIZ* life. Between 1944 and 1946, his Heartfield- inspired works were not in great demand. At the end of the war, Zhitomirsky, like many of his colleagues, experienced a crisis. Fortunately, this did not last long. The clouds of a new conflict were

gathering on the horizon, and the Cold War, soon provided Soviet political satire with a new rationale.

Bestiarius of the Cold War

In November 1946, the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR prepared a report for Stalin about the ‘harmful influence of English propaganda’.⁶¹⁶ Agitprop was supported by the Ministry of State Security [MGB], and both were alarmed by the influence of the weekly newspaper *The British Ally* [*Britansky soyuznik*] which had been published by the British embassy in Moscow since 1942. During the war, allied propaganda printed in Russian did not alarm the Soviet authorities, but with the beginning of the Cold War, this rather harmless British publication looked dangerous. Viktor Abakumov, the minister of State Security, wrote in the report that, ‘Often the content of the articles published in the magazine is wrongly interpreted by some readers and in certain instances some of them, using information derived from this magazine, are practically promoting the dissemination of pro-British propaganda in their milieu.’⁶¹⁷ In order to substantiate his argument, the minister gave the names and positions of such readers, who had been denounced by MGB informers. *The British Ally* had a circulation of 50,000. Another allied magazine, *America* [*Amerika*] published by the US Department of State, had a similar circulation. *America* also annoyed the Soviets, but much less than the British newspaper because, according to an

⁶¹⁶ ‘Proekt dokladnoi zapiski Agitpropa TsK I. V. Stalinu po voprosu o ezhenidel’nike’, *Britansky soyuznik*, 1946.

⁶¹⁷ ‘Stalin i kosmopolitizm’, *Arkhiv Aleksandra N. Ykovleva* [accessed 16 December 2011].

agreement with the US, the Soviet authorities had the right to pre-censor the State Department publication. A secret war against the allied publications started. Issues were withdrawn from distribution and remained unsold, while letters of concerned citizens, denouncing capitalist propaganda, were published in Soviet newspapers. Finally in 1949, thanks to a stunning coup by Abakumov's ministry, Archibald Johnston the editor-in-chief of *The British Ally* resigned from his position, asked for political asylum in the USSR, and published in *Pravda* (the newspaper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party) a long letter denouncing Winston Churchill, Ernest Bevin and Clement Atlee as 'instigators of war'.⁶¹⁸

That same year, Zhitomirsky created a photomontage which symbolized a new phase in his career as the Soviet Heartfield. The composition depicted the cover of *America* and the first page of *The British Ally* opening like a theatre curtain. Behind the curtain, some homeless people were sitting under the iron arch of a bridge, with the skyscrapers of Manhattan in the background (Figure 265). The montage was called *Behind the Lacquered Screen*. Yesterday's allies were becoming enemies.

The beginning of the Cold War provided new opportunities for the battle-hardened warriors of Soviet visual propaganda, but also presented them with the urgent task of creating a new iconography of evil, and of producing easily recognizable stereotypical images of those capitalist adversaries, who just a few years before had been depicted as handsome masculine men in military uniforms,

⁶¹⁸ 'The Press: No Sale', *Time*, 1950

<<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,813277,00.html>>.

marching shoulder to shoulder with their Soviet comrades. The iconographic revision took two directions. The first solution was to adapt and rework the imagery used to depict the Nazis. This approach had the practical advantage of what could be called 'brand awareness'. The US president, the British prime minister, or the West German chancellor could be made to look like 'Hitler today'. Employing well tested iconographic schemes used to depict the Führer obviously created the necessary allusion, but recycling old imagery, which had been constantly recycled during the war, was insufficient. It was necessary to add signifiers, which could become permanent symbols for the new enemies. Some of these signifiers could be borrowed from pre-war Soviet propaganda. Uncle Sam, John Bull, top hats, fat capitalists chewing cigars, and financiers turned into anthropomorphic money bags belonged to a repertoire of images that had been used in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century anti-capitalist (and sometimes anti-Semitic) European cartoons. They had then been adopted by Soviet poster artists of the Civil War, the 1920s and the 1930s, and were now dusted down and returned to circulation. The simplistic world of visual persuasion also required universal signs. During the war, the universal sign of the enemy had been the Nazi swastika. Now it could only be used to hint at the lineage of current enemies. The absence of a simple graphic symbol to signify American or British imperialism was solved by using currency signs. For the post-war generation, the sign of the US dollar (and for a short time - the British pound) became the new swastika, full of scary symbolism and indicating absolute political evil.

Soviet propaganda's new offensive was in many ways reduced to using well tested devices. One of these entailed revamping the bestiary of political enemies, which started with the beginning of the Cold War. As early as 1947, Zhitomirsky created a photomontage *The Advocate of the Cold War*, depicting a bulldog wearing a bowler hat and bow-tie and chewing a cigar, which clearly denoted Sir Winston Churchill (Figure 266). The British prime minister's obvious canine resemblance had been exploited by British and American cartoonists during the war (and the souvenir industry today), but traditionally had positive connotations. According to Anthony Rhodes, 'The bulldog with Churchill's face was used more than once to signify British determination'.⁶¹⁹ It is possible that Zhitomirsky saw one of these Western cartoons and decided to transform it into a satirical photomontage. He did not succeed. His white bulldog in the bowler and bow-tie looked funny and was reminiscent of early twentieth-century kitschy paintings of dogs playing poker by the American artist Cassius Marcellus Coolidge. *The Advocate of the Cold War* was cute, but not frightening.

Dogs were followed by monkeys. Although a bulldog smoking a cigar might recall Sir Winston Churchill, a chimpanzee attired in white shirt, tie, tweed jacket and wearing glasses and Fedora hat did not look like John Foster Dulles at all (Figure 267). The only recognizable attributes were the thin metal framed glasses and the smoking pipe of the future US Secretary of State, who in 1947, the year of Zhitomirsky's montage, was the United States' delegate at the United Nations General Assembly. The composition was called *John Foster Dulles, an Advocate*

⁶¹⁹ Anthony Rhodes, *Propaganda. The Art of Persuasion: World War II* (New York, London: Angus and Robertson Publishers, Chelsea House Publishers, 1984), p. 111.

for a Tough Policy towards the USSR. He was the standard bearer, but it is highly unlikely that many Soviet citizens would have been able to recognize his trademark smoking pipe.

During the early post-war years, when the very medium of photomontage was treated with suspicion as a formalist method, Zhitomirsky tried to reduce his Heartfield-like grotesque to the level of a Coolidge painting. During the next two years his montages were often so heavily retouched that the presence of photographic elements in them became practically undetectable. This is true of a composition produced in 1949 after the Soviet-Yugoslav split, depicting the former comrades Marshal Josip Broz Tito and Aleksandar Ranković the minister of the interior and the head of the Yugoslav secret police [UDBA - *Uprava državne bezbednosti*] as two snakes being charmed by Uncle Sam in the guise of a fakir showing these Yugoslav reptiles the magic US dollar sign (Figure 268). The interweaving snake's bodies created a swastika. The heavily retouched heads of Tito and Ranković looked more like bad drawings than photographic portraits. The composition was clumsy, artificial and overloaded with a too obvious symbolism. Yet just a few years before the author had produced skilful montages for the covers of *Front Illustrierte Zeitung*.

The astonishingly low quality of many of Zhitomirsky's works during the late Stalinist period can be explained by the official disapproval of photomontage as a medium and the artist's attempts to adjust to government demands. Merciless retouching was essential to give the photomontage the 'noble' appearance of a

conventional graphic work. In *The Double-Faced Mister Acheson*, Zhitomirsky depicted Dean Gooderham Acheson, the US Secretary of State, as a jackal holding a mask with his human smiling face (Figure 269). The artist recollected later, ‘The jacket, shirt, tie, hand, and face belong to the same photograph of Acheson ... I transformed the face into a mask, which I put in his hand as if he had just taken it off. The mask is breaking into a sugary, sanctimonious smile. The jackal hiding behind the mask was reproduced from a book and slightly retouched. Strangely enough, the documentary ‘mask’ possesses a certain cardboard artificiality, while the made-up jackal became convincingly real...’⁶²⁰ The transformation of the face-mask into a ‘cardboard artificiality’ is not strange at all – the photograph of Acheson was heavily repainted. The only montage element that betrays its photographic origin is the jacket of the Secretary of State. Even his tie, despite Zhitomirsky’s claim that he borrowed it from a photograph, was completely retouched and decorated with a pattern of dollar signs. The muzzle of the jackal was taken from a book and adorned with eyes, eyebrows, and a moustache, which make the predator look like the American politician. It is so heavily doctored that it is difficult to discern whether it was initially a photograph or a graphic image.

The recognizability of the protagonists in satirical propaganda posed serious problems for Soviet artists during the Cold War. While the faces of the Nazi leaders were familiar to the majority of Soviet people, the leadership of the post-war enemy democracies changed too often. Truman and Adenauer, favourite targets for Soviet propaganda, were familiar to many, but US Secretaries of State,

⁶²⁰ Alexander Zhitomirsky, ‘Kak eto sdeleno. Tvorcheskyy protsess, tekhnologiya fotomontazha’, p. 110.

German industrialists, and British prime ministers were less recognizable, so by the beginning of the 1960s were often replaced by symbolical creatures such as Uncle Sam, neo-Nazis in Wehrmacht helmets, or a shabby British lion. This preference for impersonal symbols instead of vicious caricatures ridiculing real politicians led to the creation of a new type of bestiary, which was reduced to a heraldic function. One of the impersonal monsters created by Zhitomirsky was a vicious wolf in the dress of the eaten grandmother, from the fairy tale *Little Red Riding Hood* (Figure 270). Zhitomirsky wrote,

A stuffed wolf showing his teeth was photographed in the zoological museum, because it was impossible to take a photograph of the predator with the necessary 'facial expression' at the zoo. The plaid was cut out from a textile advert, but all the other details of the montage were painted. Actuality and political sharpness were given to the montage by minor details... A thin branch fastened to the cap by a brooch in the shape of a dollar sign. A label with the word 'Peace' is attached to the end of the branch by string. The wolf wears glasses in American frames (NB!). Bayonets and a bomb stick out from under the plaid. Thus minor details became the main device of unmasking.⁶²¹

In this text, written in the early 1980s, Zhitomirsky did not mention the most important detail, which was used to unmask the scary American wolf pretending to be a kind grandmother. Alongside bayonets and bombs, an issue of the magazine *Collier's Weekly* was also hidden under the predator's plaid. The montage was part of an intense propaganda campaign provoked by the publication

⁶²¹ Alexander Zhitomirsky, 'Kak Eto Sdelano. Tvorchesky Protsess, Tekhnologiya Fotomontazha', p. 101.

of a special issue of the magazine on 27 October 1951 called *Preview of the War We Do Not Want*.⁶²² According to this fictional account, the Third World War would start in 1952: the Soviet Union would invade Yugoslavia, the conflict would escalate into a full-scale nuclear war, which would end in a Soviet defeat and an American occupation of the USSR. These apocalyptic fantasies of American journalists fuelled Soviet propaganda, which took them seriously as revelations of Washington's intentions and readiness for a nuclear strike. Zhitomirsky re-interpreted the *Collier's Weekly* incident on an archetypal level, turning the event into a reflection of subconscious horrors. The use of the archetype of the scary wolf by Soviet cartoonists was noticed by the psychoanalyst Carl G. Jung. He illustrated his book *Approaching the Unconscious* with a Soviet cartoon depicting 'the "imperialist" Western world as a vicious wolf.'⁶²³ The illustration proved that 'ideological conflict breeds many of modern man's "demons"'.⁶²⁴

It is not clear why the artist needed to visit the zoological museum – the snapshot of the vicious wolf was so heavily re-worked that any remnant of photographic realism was lost. Zhitomirsky could just as well have painted it. Like Viktor Koretsky, the only other artist who was using photograph elements during the late 1940s and the early 1950s, Zhitomirsky submitted to the prevailing orthodoxy that artists engaged in photomontage had to develop it towards using the more traditional media of drawing and painting. During the final years of Stalin's rule,

⁶²² 'Preview of the War We Do Not Want', *Collier's Weekly*, 1951.

⁶²³ Carl Jung, 'Approaching the Unconscious', in *Man and His Symbols* (New York: Doubleday, 1964), p. 49.

⁶²⁴ Jung, 'Approaching the Unconscious'.

Soviet photomontage turned into a strange ritual practice. The only two artists who practised it spent a lot of time hiding photo elements under layers of retouching and trying to mimic conventional graphic art. Their success was gauged not by the photograph they used, but by the way they overcame its realistic effects. This struggle with the mechanical objectivity of the camera lens, which had to submit to the control of creative processes, gave birth to a hybrid medium half-way between photomontage and traditional poster and graphic illustration. It was created by artists who were constantly afraid of being condemned for the 'formalist' roots of their art.

The Third World War predicted by *Collier's Weekly* did not start in 1952. One year later Stalin died. A period of relative liberalization followed, although the cultural thaw did not entail any relaxation of the propaganda war with the West. Zhitomirsky continued to develop the iconography of his bestial characters throughout the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. The rehabilitation of photomontage during the 1960s signalled the possibility of returning to the employment of photographic elements, which did not have to be completely hidden under retouching. After his participation in the Berlin exhibition and Heartfield's public blessing, Zhitomirsky started to borrow from the German's legacy more openly. Some of his 1960s compositions look like overt paraphrases of the classical montages produced by Heartfield for AIZ. Zhitomirsky's *Strauss – War*, for instance, ridiculed the West German politician Franz Josef Strauss, who in 1956 was appointed Minister of Defence, responsible for developing the West German Army, the Bundeswehr (Figure 271). Zhitomirsky added the head of a growling

leopard to Strauss's body, and so created a new anthropomorphic beast for the Soviet bestiary. Strauss is holding a cigar in the shape of a nuclear bomb. The original montage reveals how Zhitomirsky covered the politician's hand meticulously with short hair looking like bristle. The war mongering predator doesn't look too much like Strauss, but the composition does recall Heartfield's montage of 1931, which depicted a Social Democrat with the head of a tiger, dressed in a tie decorated with swastikas (Figure 272).⁶²⁵ This image was also the source for the numerous ties covered with dollar signs that Zhitomirsky often used during the 1950s. The difference between the two montages is that Heartfield's tiger depicts a generic SPD member, while Zhitomirsky's represented a particular politician. In fact, the leopard which was supposed to look like Strauss could be used to depict any imperialist enemy of the Soviet Union. It was just one more step in the direction of impersonal propaganda, which freed the consumer from the need to know the names of the USSR's ideological adversaries.

Zhitomirsky took a final step in this direction during the 1960s, when he started to use the image of a shark persistently. The first montage depicting a human shark was fairly like Strauss's portrait – a shark's head was added to a human body, which was given a tie decorated with dollar signs, while holding a cigarette in a holder. The montage was not aimed at any particular politician, but merely provided a generic description of American imperialism (Figure 273).

Zhitomirsky simply gave visual form to a common metaphor, rooted in the

⁶²⁵ John Heartfield, 'Zum Krisen-Parteitag Der SPD', *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung*, No. 24, 1931, p. 477.

nineteenth century. This metaphor was used in different languages⁶²⁶ and had become a stereotypical expression in Bolshevik literature by the time of the October revolution.⁶²⁷ By the 1960s, the expression ‘the sharks of capitalism’ or ‘the sharks of Wall Street’ had become a worn-out cliché. By translating it into an image, Zhitomirsky was following the old tradition of visualizing figures of speech. The shark-imperialist proved to be very successful. In 1969, Zhitomirsky created an aggressive shark dressed in a suit, and wearing a striped tie, which resembled the American flag (Figure 274). In the background he placed a photograph of Wall Street, and a text mentioning the US’s political martyrs – ‘John Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Robert Kennedy. Who is next?’ To emphasise that the list of victims was not yet complete, the artist put a huge question mark next to the shark’s jaws. The transformation was complete. The propaganda beast, which initially alluded to a specific individual like Winston Churchill or Franz Joseph Strauss, had become a fish in its own right – a generalized symbol not requiring much explanation.

During the Cold War, Zhitomirsky produced quite a few political cartoons aimed at different Western politicians. Until the early 1960s, the traditional target of the propaganda campaigns was the United Kingdom. Strangely, for a short time (1947-1951) there was more anti-British propaganda than attacks on America.

The artist produced generalized images of the British ‘poodle’ (often represented

⁶²⁶ For instance, English ‘loan sharks’.

⁶²⁷ Stalin wrote about the ‘sharks of imperialism’ as early as 1917; see Iosif Stalin, ‘Dva puti’, in *Sobranie sochineny* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel’stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1946), III, p. 210.; Lenin in his letter to American workers of 20 August 1918, used the expression ‘sharks of Anglo-French and American capitalism’. (Vladimir Lenin, ‘Pis’mo k amerikanskim rabochim’, in *Sobranie sochineny* (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1969), XXXVII, pp. 48–64.)

by dogs of a rather different pedigree) pleasing its American master, and the sad and shabby British lion turned into the ‘poodle’ of the US (Figures 275-276). Zhitomirsky also created an impressive gallery of British politicians. These included Sir Winston Churchill wearing an old and crumbled top hat begging on the street for an American tip, and a corpulent Ernest Bevin, whose half-naked body was covered with tattoos of the inevitable dollar sign, an image of the Statue of Liberty and, of course, the Nazi swastika. Bevin was also shown as John Bull on whom Uncle Sam is sitting holding a whip or driving the coach of Britain into the abyss (Figures 277 – 280). Some of the early anti-Bevin montages heralded a return to the method of ‘distorted mirrors’ used by Klinch in his photographic caricatures during the 1930s (Figure 281). These heavily retouched photographic images of the USSR’s political adversaries were intended to ridicule them and to incite the Soviet people to hate the Western leaders. One means of achieving this was to recycle the iconography of satirical propaganda established during the Second World War.

In his radio speech of 22 June 1941, announcing the beginning of hostilities with Nazi Germany, Vyacheslav Molotov, the Peoples Commissar for Foreign Affairs, reminded his listeners that, ‘Once upon a time our people responded to Napoleon’s campaign against Russia with the patriotic war, and Napoleon suffered defeat and so too will the conceited Hitler, who has started a new campaign against our country.’⁶²⁸ These words heralded a new approach to the history of Imperial Russia, developed in response to the needs of war-time

⁶²⁸ Vyacheslav Molotov, ‘Vystuplenie po radio V. M. Molotova 22 iyunya 1941 goda’, *Izvestiya* (Moscow, 24 June 1941), No. 147 (7523) edition.

propaganda. Two days after Molotov's speech, the first poster illustrating the historic parallel between Napoleon and Hitler was issued (Figure 282).⁶²⁹ Created by the Kukryniksy, the poster showed Hitler as a dwarf wearing the bicorne hat of Napoleon, but decorated with a swastika. During the war, dozens if not hundreds of posters and caricatures equating the Nazi leader with the French emperor were produced. Cold-War propaganda continued to exploit the comparison, enlarging the gallery of Bonaparte's unlucky heirs. In 1950, Zhitomirsky made a photomontage depicting Winston Churchill and Harry S. Truman standing in 'Napoleonic' poses, with their hands folded on their chests (Figure 283). The two statesmen were wearing gigantic bicornes marked with the dollar sign. Behind them on the wall were two portraits: one of Napoleon with a bandaged face, as if he were suffering from toothache, dated 1812, and the second of a similarly bandaged skull with a toothbrush moustache, dated 1945. Both Napoleon and Hitler are wearing the trademark hats, but while Napoleon's bicorne has a cockade with an imperial N, the hat on Hitler's skull is decorated with a swastika. A collective Anglo-American Napoleon was clearly not enough. One year later, the artist created *De Gaulle is about to March Off*, obviously referring to the general's attempts to lead his political party, Rassemblement du Peuple Français [RPF] (Figure 284). De Gaulle stands in a Napoleonic pose, wearing the bicorne hat in front of Napoleon's portrait.

The same year, Zhitomirsky placed Napoleon's hat on Marshal Tito, who was depicted as a shedding parrot, sitting on a Dollar sign and screaming, 'Hail

⁶²⁹ Kukryniksy, *Napoleon Suffered Defeat and So Too Will the Conceited Hitler! (Napoleon poterpel porazhanie. To zhe budet i s zaznavshimsia Gitlerom!)*, 24 June 1941.

Truman, hail Attlee!’ (Figure 285). To ‘unmask’ the true nature of Yugoslav revisionism, the artist decorated the poor bird with tabs featuring Nazi swastikas.

Using the same iconography for different adversaries created certain problems, which were only resolved by the mid-1960s. There were too many Napoleons, too many heirs of Hitler, and too many snakes. In 1949 a snake sticking out its poisonous forked tongue denoted Marshal Tito, but in 1963 it became Konrad Adenauer (Figure 286). The strict hierarchy of demons created during the Second World War was replaced by a chaotic world of enemies (who in addition to all their elusive qualities sometimes had a tendency to turn into friends overnight or vice-versa). Before the arch-enemy was finally identified, numerous politicians on both sides of the Atlantic were cast in the shadow of Hitler to reveal their demonic essence to the Soviet people. As early as 1948, Zhitomirsky depicted the US president Harry S. Truman sitting on a skyscraper, beating the drums of war (Figure 287). The gigantic shadow cast by Truman looks like the outline of Hitler raising his hand in the Nazi salute. Another montage of 1950 showed a large man shouting into a loudspeaker, wearing a top hat decorated with the US flag, which had dollar signs instead of stars (Figure 288).⁶³⁰ The loudspeaker is inscribed ‘Voice of America’, the name of the US Department of State’s broadcasting service, which in 1947 resumed its transmissions to the Soviet Union. The mouthpiece of the loudspeaker sticks out from the back of the head of the man in the top hat. Behind him is the real speaker – Goebbels in his simian reincarnation. Zhitomirsky had simply borrowed Goebbels’ figure from his war-time montage

⁶³⁰ Possibly Charles W. Thayer, who headed VOA in 1948-1949.

which showed the propaganda minister standing on a mountain of fallen German soldiers, broadcasting his speech about victories in the Caucasus.⁶³¹ In the 1952 montage *Adenauer, Hitler's Deputy*, Konrad Adenauer, the chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, is depicted as a saint with a halo consisting of a dollar coin (Figure 289). A cracked and bloodied swastika hung from a chain of dollar signs around his neck. Behind this 'icon' of Adenauer, the skeleton of Hitler was hiding. Zhitomirsky had represented a 'historical predecessor' as a skeleton in his war montages, where the skeleton belonged to Kaiser Wilhelm (his skull wore the spiked helmet, just as later Hitler's skull was decorated with the distinctive moustache) (Figure 300).⁶³²

This recycling of wartime imagery obviously responded to political needs. It was also eminently practical, saving the artist time and giving him a chance to re-use his earlier inventions and revamp old iconographies, such as the skull in a military helmet. In the montages concerning West Germany, the skull wore the distinctive steel helmet [*Stahlhelm*], (Figure 301). During the Korean War, Zhitomirsky created a montage comprising a skull in a US military helmet lying in a desert, on top of which sits a vulture in a top hat and chain which are both decorated with dollar signs (Figure 302). He used a similar skull in 1967 during the Vietnam War, for *Soldiers are Falling, Profits are Growing*. To demonstrate the gains made by war profiteers, Zhitomirsky added a glass tube to the helmet, from which dollars were falling into a capitalist's greedy hands (Figure 303).

⁶³¹ Illustrated in Alexander Zhitomirsky, *PolitiCal Photomontage*, p. 17.

⁶³² *FIZ*, No. 13 (57), May 1943.

Recycling the iconographies established by Soviet visual propaganda during the 1930s reached industrial proportions. Zhitomirsky borrowed the image of the anthropomorphic sack of money, which was used during the 1930s by various artists, including Boris Klinch. Much earlier, in 1871, Richard Doyle had created little running sacks of money, which he had used in a humorous way, but by the early twentieth century, the sack of money had come to signify the ruthless capitalist (Figure 304). By the end of the Second World War, it was a well-established iconographic type, used in photomontages of the 1930s and conventional graphics of the 1940s. The TASS Windows' artist Pavel Sokolov-Skalya used it to depict the alleged smuggling of the Nazi millions into Argentina (Figure 305).⁶³³ During the 1950s and 1960s, Zhitomirsky created an impressive series of adventures for these sacks of money. A sack dressed in a top hat put a nuclear bomb in the hand of the Statue of Liberty (Figure 306). Another sack of money drove a gigantic missile at speed into the abyss (Figure 307). Twin sacks, symbolizing the Unilever Corporation, tenderly embraced each other with their octopus tentacles (Figure 308). A sack with the Dollar coin replaced the head of a US judge, in order to symbolize the venal nature of the American justice system (Figure 309). The quantity of such compositions increased from the period of the Second World War onwards, when generic propaganda started to replace cartoons directed at specific individuals. By then the arch enemy had been identified as the United States, which had to be represented not by rapidly changing presidents, but by money sacks, sharks and dollars.

⁶³³ Pavel Sokolov-Skalya, *Under the Hot Sky of Argentina*, TASS Window 1139.

Using currency signs as a universal symbol for political adversaries of the Soviet Union was a post-war invention. In 1947, Zhitomirsky started to use photographs of dollar coins, which soon became an integral element in his personal iconography of the American enemy. Apparently, by chance, the artist found an old magazine illustration of a man sitting in a restaurant ready to enjoy a piece of pie. Inspired, the artist replaced the man's head with the image of a silver dollar and his pie with a photograph of the globe. To create a recognizable ambiance he added a photograph of the New York cityscape as a background (Figure 310). The finished work, *A Wolf's Appetite*, marked the beginning of the long life of the dollar-headed man, which represented capitalist America. Zhitomirsky frequently returned to this image. It became a boxer knocking out the poor British pound after sterling was devalued against the dollar on 9 September 1949 (Figure 311). For this montage Zhitomirsky did not use images of coins, but just circles with currency signs in the centre.⁶³⁴ By the 1950s, sterling had become a symbol for the servility of British politicians, manipulated by their masters from Washington. In 1951, Zhitomirsky produced a caricature of Arthur Deakin, the General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union (Figure 312). He was not a prominent politician or public figure, but Soviet propaganda generally attacked corrupt Western trade unions for serving their capitalist masters. Moreover, Deakin was vociferously anti-communist. Zhitomirsky depicted him in the shape of a pound sign: a wriggling Deakin is on his knees, wearing a tie decorated with a dollar sign.

⁶³⁴ It is possible, that such choice was defined by the absence of the one pound coin, which was introduced only on 21 April 1983. The artist had to find the British equivalent to the all-powerful silver dollar and decided that symbolically the coins could serve this purpose.

The diminishing international importance of Great Britain led to the gradual disappearance of the pound from Soviet propaganda, while the use of the dollar increased. Zhitomirsky's dollar man became a generic sign for the capitalist system. His coin-headed creation easily fitted into well-tested iconographic matrixes. Pavel Sokolov-Skalya had portrayed Hitler turning the handles of a screw press trying to squeeze out the last drop of blood from 'fraternal' Austria (Figure 313),⁶³⁵ while Zhitomirsky showed the dollar-man operating a screw press, producing American proletarians (Figure 314).

Zhitomirsky decided to give evil dollar-man a contrasting twin figure, which would represent progressive humankind. This positive figure first appeared in a montage depicting a worker, with a globe instead of a head, bending down under the burden of a nuclear bomb (Figure 315). Both positive and negative images were reduced to simple signs, which looked very similar, but possessed completely opposite meanings. Actually, before he invented the globe-faced proletarian, Zhitomirsky had used the globe as a head in a negative way in a composition representing South America as a safe haven for Nazi criminals (Figure 316). In this, a globe showing the Western hemisphere, wore a sombrero, which practically covered North America, making the viewer focus on the South. The string of sombreros under the globe was decorated with a gigantic Iron Cross, alluding to German militarism.

⁶³⁵ Pavel Sokolov-Skalya, *Hitler and "Fraternal" Austria*, TASS Window 1147.

The apotheosis of currency symbolism was achieved in 1967, when Zhitomirsky created *In the Stone Jungles* (another propaganda stereotype which was grossly overused by agitprop and constantly applied to American cities (Figure 317). The montage was made of three elements: a view of New York's Times Square, an image of a dollar coin, and a photograph of a shark's jaws. The gigantic dollar coin, hanging over the city, rapaciously opened its jaws (uniting two symbols of the arch-enemy) and showed its sharp teeth. The US dollar had turned into a dangerous predator.

In his photomontages from the 1950s to the 1970s, Zhitomirsky often exploited the same image more than once. One montage depicted an unpleasant American general, who was lounging in a gigantic armchair (which stood on the British Isles) while resting his feet on the head of a sad British lion (Figure 318).

Zhitomirsky used the same image of the lion for a photomontage dedicated to the 'humiliation' of Britain at the beginning of the Marshall plan (Figure 319). The impudent American militarist re-appeared several times. In the composition depicting the dollar man with chained hands balancing on the winged wheel of progress – a coin head is attached to the body of the general (Figure 320). In 1961, the same body sitting in a chair has a bucket of dollars hanging from his raised leg. Instead of a head, the body was given a dirty frightening arm (Figure 321). This surreal image was intended to satirize the dealings of American armament companies in general and the Lockheed Corporation in particular. The body reappeared in a montage called *The Headless Horseman* where it was riding

a nuclear missile and had a torch instead of a head (Figure 322).⁶³⁶ The torch-head represented the visualization of the expression –‘incendiary of war’ [*podzhigatel voiny*]. The artist’s production of Heartfield-style montages almost became a conveyor belt, repeating the same iconographies and manipulating the same images.

Zhitomirsky was the only officially recognized photomontage artist active in the Soviet Union during the post-war years. He had proved himself to be a true follower of the Party line, serving in every propaganda campaign and reflecting every turn of Soviet foreign policy. Today the results of such servility can sometimes be rather shocking. In 1949, the artist used the image of László Rajk, who was the Hungarian communist leader falsely accused of being a ‘Titoist spy’, made the victim of a show trial, and executed (Figure 323).⁶³⁷ The charge was made by Mátyás Rákosi, the General Secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party, assisted by the Soviet Secret Service. Zhitomirsky used a photograph of Rajk in the dock, but changed his face so that the innocent victim looked like a degenerate criminal, in accordance with Cesare Lambroso’s criteria. Around Rajk’s neck, Zhitomirsky put a medal with profiles of his ‘masters’: Hitler, John Foster Dulles, and Marshal Tito. This primitive approach to demonizing the ‘enemy’ is quite revealing about the nature of Soviet propaganda. Another example of the vicious application of the ‘Nazi legacy’ label to current enemies is found in Zhitomirsky’s sketch for a photomontage from the second half of the

⁶³⁶ This alludes to the title of the novel by the nineteenth-century American writer Thomas Mayne Reid, who was extremely popular both in pre-revolutionary Russia and in the USSR.

⁶³⁷ See Duncan Shiels, *Die Brüder Rajk: Ein Europäisches Familiendrama* (Vienna: Zsolnay, 2008).

1960s. This depicts two interwoven spiders on the map of the Middle East: one of them is marked with a gigantic swastika, the other with the Star of David. In this way, the state of Israel was presented as the heir of Nazi Germany (Figure 324).⁶³⁸

Zhitomirsky became the Soviet Heartfield, prolonging the life of satirical political photomontage for an extra fifty years. His imagery was rooted in the modernist tradition; his inventions of the 1960s recalled early Dadaist experiments. It is unlikely that the artist knew about the Dada movement, but his dollar-man was certainly reminiscent of the strange creatures with dials instead of heads that were invented by Raoul Hausmann and John Heartfield (Figures 325-326). Zhitomirsky transformed these Dadaist creations, these soulless automatons, and mechanical golems of industrial civilization, called cyborgs by a contemporary art historian,⁶³⁹ into symbols of the capitalist West and adversaries of the Soviet Union.

By the 1950s, political photomontage had become a relic of an abandoned modernist aesthetic, but the artist survived for long enough to witness its revival. In 1956 Richard Hamilton produced his famous photomontage *Just What Is It that Makes Today's Homes So Different, So Appealing?* It was used as a cover for the catalogue and the poster for the London exhibition *This is Tomorrow*, which

⁶³⁸ This kind of 'comparison' used frequently in Soviet propaganda during the 1960s was inherited by contemporary Arab cartoonists and some of their left-wing colleagues in Europe. See Joël Kotek and Dan Kotek, *Au Nom De L'antisémitisme. L'image Des Juifs Et d'Israël Dans La Caricature Depuis La Seconde Itifada* (Paris: Editions Complexe, 2003).

⁶³⁹ See Matthew Biro, *The Dada Cyborg: Visions of the New Human in Weimar Berlin* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 2009). Biro's attempt to apply to Berlin Dada's creations the terminology established half a century later is of questionable validity.

marked the rediscovery of the medium in the West. Yet at the same time Zhitomirsky's photomontages were regularly appearing on the pages of leading Soviet newspapers and magazines. Ironically what was *tomorrow* for London, was still *today* for the Soviet Union.

The archetypal imagery of evil that Zhitomirsky used during the 1960s and the 1970s and ritualized through constant repetition demonstrated the complete ossification of the Soviet propaganda machine, which was constantly falling into the trap of recycling worn-out stereotypes. Zhitomirsky, with his nonsensical imagery heavily linked to Heartfield's transformation of Dada absurdity into the illusionist grotesque, was acclaimed by the Soviet propaganda apparatus because his method reflected the victory of the supporters of illusionist montage in the old discussion about the difference between the methods of Heartfield and Klucis. It seems that the advocates of socialist realism wanted even their worst nightmares to be realistic in form.

By the 1960s, Zhitomirsky's monsters were really no longer effective as propaganda, but the producer of archetypal demons unintentionally anticipated a new trend. In 1968 the artist created a series of montages called *Freedoms in the USA*, including one entitled *The Freedom of Competition for Corporations* (Figure 327). The montage depicted two dinosaurs with dollar signs on their heads fighting each other against the New York skyline. Zhitomirsky had 'borrowed' the prehistoric animals from the corpus of hyper-realistic paleontological

reconstructions made by the Czech artist Zdeněk Burian.⁶⁴⁰ As a denizen of the Jurassic Park of late Soviet agitprop, Zhitomirsky rediscovered archetypes of horror which, some years later, were employed by American mass culture when bloodthirsty sharks and scary archosaurian reptiles started to dominate Hollywood movies.

⁶⁴⁰ See Zdeněk Spinar, *Life Before Man* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973).

CONCLUSION

As the text of this dissertation has made clear, Soviet photomontage did not develop an elaborate theory. It did not possess a Lev Kuleshov or a Sergei Eisenstein to develop profound theoretical reflections about its procedures, purpose, and wider implications. As Christina Lodder proved, the roots of Soviet photomontage as practised by Aleksandr Rodchenko in the early years, are to be found in avant-garde cinema, which was the real intellectual laboratory, experimenting with montage principles. Although montage in film helped to create a new visual language, serving the narrative task of the medium, the manipulation of photographic images served not only aesthetic, but also practical ends.

Scissors, photographs and glue helped to create a democratic way of producing visual images; it was accessible to everybody and did not require much (if any) specialist training. The practice of photomontage on a massive scale during the First Five-Year Plan transformed it into the pre-digital version of cut and paste software, which could be used by anybody, without any professional skill. The apparent simplicity of the medium was hailed as a breakthrough by radical Marxist theoreticians, who believed that the long-desired death of the elitist practice of art could be

achieved when all proletarians would be able to express themselves by its means. For these theoreticians, Marx's thesis that 'In a communist society, there are no painters, but at most people who engage in painting among other activities' was supported by the ability of workers and peasants throughout the USSR to produce photomontages for wall newspapers.⁶⁴¹

Photomontage arrived on the Soviet art scene as a technique for facilitating the production of visual propaganda with unheard of speed. Painting and graphics could not compete with quickly cutting scissors.

From the mid-1920s to the early 1930s, the new medium defined the visual face of the country – posters and street installations, book covers and magazine spreads, exhibitions and museum displays, wall newspapers and postcards were all created by photomontage artists. Such an avalanche of montaged imagery influenced traditional art forms, from painting to drawing and graphic design. In the canvases of Aleksandr Deineka, Yurii Pimenov, and other artists, who were members of the Society of Easel Paintings [OST]

⁶⁴¹ Karl Marx, 'The German Ideology' in David McLellan, *The Thought of Karl Marx* (New York: Harper & Row 1974), p. 247.

the influence of photomontage compositions was clearly visible, and it was no less apparent in the works of numerous poster artists of the late 1920s – the early 1930s, who mimicked the structure of photomontages in compositions that they produced by means of conventional graphics.⁶⁴² The appeal of photomontage was understandable. Artists practising the medium were able to produce figurative art that was liberated from the hierarchy of linear perspective in realist painting.

By the end of the 1930s, this situation had changed. With the establishment of the precepts of Socialist Realism, the return to the traditional pictorial canon, and the restoration of the academic hierarchy of the genres, photomontage could only survive by imitating painting, to which it was doomed to remain inferior. Even in the field of political caricature, photomontage was possible only in an illusionistic, Heartfield-like form. The photographic element itself, which in the early 1920s was glorified as the paragon of objectivity, now had to be shyly hidden under layers of retouching. From the beginning of photomontage, its advocates praised the ‘precision and documentary character’ of the photographic images, which were destined to become the raw material for montage compositions.⁶⁴³ They believed that the documentary precision of

⁶⁴² The influence of photomontage on painting and graphics of the period deserves serious investigation.

⁶⁴³ ‘Fotomotazhi L. Popovoi i P. Tsitroen’, *LEF*, No. 4, 1923, p. 41.

photographs would be important for visual persuasion. In actuality, for propaganda, what was important was not the documentary nature of the photographs used, but their pseudo-documentary nature. The manipulation of images proved to be a quite simple technique for manipulating meaning. The principle of Kuleshov's montage exercises, which combined similar cinematic footage in different sequences and proved that by changing the order, it was possible to construct narratives with completely opposite implications, could also be applied to photomontage. The world cut into pieces was reassembled to create new meanings, corresponding to the wish of the photomonteur. Such creations were even deprived of the questionable objectivity of the straight photograph or snapshot. Photomontage's ability to manipulate reality made it a highly efficient propaganda weapon.

The image was reduced to the role of a word in a visual text produced by the photomonteur, and it could assume whatever meaning was required, depending on the context into which it was placed. Photomontage laid the foundation for the gross abuse of images, which became one of the hall-marks of twentieth-century culture.

Soviet photomontage developed through four sequential stages. During the first 'Dadaist' period, photomontage, as introduced by Rodchenko, signalled the avant-garde's return to figurative imagery, after the crisis of non-objective or abstract painting.

However, this return was not straightforward. Although the image came back, it came back in a fragmented form and was reduced to visual splinters, scattered around seemingly chaotic compositions. This kind of grotesque confusion didn't last long.

The second stage was dominated by the creation of photomontaged 'icons', which became the first step in the medium's submission to the tasks of political propaganda. Dynamic disorder was replaced by the static geometry of highly hierarchical compositions. This type of montage was developed by Gustavs Klucis after the death of Lenin in 1924, and became an important element in the establishment of the personality cult of the deceased leader. The resurrection of the primordial genre of the funeral portrait, inserted into mandala-like compositional structures, led to the creation of works produced by modern means, but full of archetypal imagery. For a short time, photomontage artists became both servants and priests at the altar of an emerging political religion.

The third stage in the development of photomontage coincided with the period of the First Five-Year Plan and the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. This stage was also dominated by Gustavs Klucis. The beginning of industrialisation marked a decisive step in the formation of the Stalinist model of socialism and in the final destruction of all potential political and social opposition in the country. The State initiated a mass propaganda effort to serve these needs. The mass production of 'visual agitation' had never before

reached such heights. The dynamic construction of photomontage posters, often employing diagonal compositions to evoke progress and movement forward, became a trade mark of the period. At the same time, photomontage, which dominated visual propaganda, had a tendency not only to increase in size (posters were produced in larger and larger formats) but also to compete with monumental art. The term 'photo-fresco', coined by El Lissitzky, became a battle cry of photomontage artists in the late 1920s and the early 1930s.

In parallel with this, the introduction of 'the photographic series' genre led to the emergence of photomontages that were based on the same kind of compositional principles as those used in film montage. Applying cinematic devices led to the short-lived medium of the 'photo-film' or photographic film, which consisted of projecting photographs or still images, which were assembled in the style of cinematic montage.

By the mid-1930s, the situation had begun to change. The photomontage storm of the first Five-Year Plans was dying down. The establishment of Socialist Realism deprived photomontage of its ambition to replace painting and monumental art. It came to be regarded as an inferior medium, which at best could be used for producing propaganda posters or magazine illustrations. During this final stage of its development, photomontage was practised by very few artists, and crystallised into its final form, in which it

continued to exist until after the end of the Second World War.

Squeezed into the Procrustean bed of the Socialist Realist cannon, photomontage was reduced to two permitted types – the photomontage picture and the political cartoon. The first was mastered by Viktor Koretsky, and was limited to attempting to produce a version of academic painting, using specially photographed, staged models. Heavy retouching was applied in order to deprive the photographic elements of any accidental objectivity. The desired typicality was achieved by erasing unnecessary details. This kind of ersatz painting, composed of photographic elements, was produced until the beginning of the 1950s.

The life of the photomontage cartoon was inspired by the works of John Heartfield and proved to be much longer lasting. The genre was used during the Second World War for urgent propaganda purposes and helped to create grotesque images of the enemy. For this reason it survived until the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the USSR itself. Aleksandr Zhitomirsky, who can claim to be the ‘Soviet Heartfield’, succeeded not only in transforming photomontage into an efficient device of negative propaganda, but also made it accepted within the Soviet hierarchy of genres. Ironically, after the alleged ‘end of collage and photomontage in post-war Europe’, as described by Benjamin Buchloh, photomontages continued to be produced in

the USSR with ritual regularity.⁶⁴⁴ The modernist medium outlived itself behind the Iron Curtain.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources: Books and Articles.

- ‘24 Chasa iz zhizni moskovskoi rabochei sem’i’, *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 4, 1931, 3-6
- ‘24 Chasa iz zhizni moskovskoi rabochei sem’i’, *Pravda*, 24 October 1931
- ‘Chto znamenuet i kak vpolnyaetsya reshenie Leninskogo shtaba? Postanovlenie TsK VKP (b) o plakatno-kartinnoi agitatsii i propagande’, *Brigada khudozhnikov*, No. 2-3, 1931, 1-3
- ‘Fil’m krasnoarmeitsa Shchepkina’, *Literatura i iskusstvo*, No. 1, 1941
- ‘Formiruyushcheesya isskustvo fotomontazha. Diskussiia v Komakademii’, *Brigada khudozhnikov*, No. 5-6, 1931, 17-18
- ‘Fotomontazhi L. Popovoi i P. Tsitroen’, *LEF*, No. 4, 1923, 41
- ‘Interes k “Sem’e Filippovykh” za rubezhom ne ostyvaet’, *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 4, 1932, 10
- ‘Kommunisticheskaya akademiya o plakate’, *Brigada khudozhnikov*, No. 2-3, 1931, 4-5
- ‘Lef i Kino. Stenogramma soveshchaniya’, *Novyi LEF*, No. 10-12, 1927, 50-54
- ‘Pечатnyi material dlya kritiki smotirovannyi konstruktivistom Rodchenko’, *Kino-fot*, No. 1, 1922, 13
- ‘Poslednie postanovki “Rusi”, vypuskaemye v blizhaishee vremya’, *Kino-fot*, No. 4, unpaginated

⁶⁴⁴ Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, ‘Warburg’s Paragon? The End of Collage and Photomontage in Postwar Europe’, in *Deep Storage: Collecting, Storing and Archiving in Art* (Munich and New York: Prestel, 1997), pp. 50-60.

‘Preview of the War We Do Not Want’, *Collier’s Weekly*, 1951

‘Proekt dokladnoi zapiski Agitpropa TsK I. V. Stalinu po voprosu o ezhenidel’nike’ *Britansky soyuznik*, 1946, ‘Stalin i kosmopolitizm’, *Arkhiv Aleksandra N. Ykovleva*
<<http://www.alexanderyakovlev.org/fond/issues-doc/69315>> [accessed 16 December 2011]

‘The Press: No Sale’, *Time*, 1950
<<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,813277,00.html>>

‘Vashe mnenie of Khartfil’de, tovarishch Kish?’, *Brigada khudozhnikov*, No. 4, 1931, 25

AKhRR. Sbornik vospominanii, statei, dokumentov (Moscow: Izobrazitel’noe iskusstvo, 1973)

Al’perovich, Iosif, ‘O fotomontazhe’, *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 1, 1930, 5-7

Al’pert, Maks, ‘Sotsializm pereplavlyayet cheloveka’, *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 7-8, 1932, 8

Aleksandrov, Georgii, ‘Tovarishch Erenburg uproshchaet’, *Pravda*, 14 April 1945, No. 89 (9860) edition

Aleksandrov, Sergei, ‘Fotopamflet o podzhigatelyakh voiny’, *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 8-9, 1934, 32-33

Boltyansky, Georgy, *Foto-kruzhok za rabotoi* (Moscow: Aktsionernoe izdatel’skoe obshchestvo “Ogonek,” 1929)

Brik, Osip, ‘Foto-kadr protiv kartiny’, *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 2, 1926, 40-42

---, ‘Kartina vyshla na ulitsu’, *Znamya*, No. 2, 1944, 187-191

---, ‘Ot kartiny k sittsu’, *LEF*, No. 2, 1924, 27-34

Bukharin, Nikolai, ‘Doklad na V Vserossiiskom s’ezde RKSM “Kommunisticheskoe vospitanie v usloviyakh NEP’a”’, *Pravda*, 1922, 14 October edition

Eikengol’ts, Elena, ‘Problemy massovoi odezhdy’, in *Izofront: Klassovaya bor’ba na fronte prostranstvennykh iskusstv. Sbornik statei ob’edineniya ‘Oktyabr’*”, ed. by Pavel Novitsky (Moscow: OGIZ-IZOGIZ, 1931), 55-68

Eikhenbaum, Boris, ‘Osnovnye stilevye tendentsii v rechi Lenina’, *LEF*, No. 1, 1924, 57-70

---, 'Problemy kino-stilistiki', in *Poetika kino* (Moscow, Leningrad: Kinopechat', 1927)

Eizenshtein, Sergei, 'Istinnye puti izobretaniya', in *Memuary* (Moscow: Redaktsiya gazety "Trud", Muzei kino, 1997), II, 9-297

---, *Metod. Tainy masterstva* (Moscow: Muzei kino, Eizenshtein-tsentr, 2002), II

---, 'Wie sag' ich's meinem Kinde?!', in *Memuary* (Moscow: Redaktsiya gazety "Trud", Muzei kino, 1997), I, 29-358

---, 'Zametki k "Grundproblem"', in *Metod. Tainy masterstva* (Moscow: Muzei kino, Eizenshtein-tsentr, 2002), II, 352-408

Eremin, Yury, 'O Surrogatakh fotografii', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 6, 1935, 13-15

Erenburg, Il'ya, 'Ubei!', *Krasnaya zvezda*, 4 July 1942, No. 173 [5236] edition

Evgenov, Semen, '1 Maya. Organizuem boevoi smotr dostizheny proletarskoi fotografii', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 3, 1932, 2-10

Fedorov-Davydov, Aleksei, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky* (Moscow, Leningrad: Iskusstvo, 1949)

---, 'Iskusstvo tekstilya', in *Izofront: Klassovaya bor'ba na fronte prostranstvennykh iskusstv. Sbornik statei ob'edineniya 'Oktyabr'*, ed. by Pavel Novitsky (Moscow: OGIZ-IZOGIZ, 1931), 69-104

Fridlyand, Semen, 'M. Al'pert', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 4, 1935, 14-16, 25

Gan, Aleksei, 'My Vouem', *Kino-fot*, No. 3, 1922

Gor'ky, M., L. Averbakh, and S. Firin, eds., *Belomorsko-Baltiisky kanal imeni Stalina. Istoriya stroitel'stva* (Moscow: Gos. izdatel'stvo "Istoriya fabrik i zavodov," 1934)

Gor'ky, Maxim, *Rabsel'koram i voenkoram: O tom, kak ya uchilsya pisat'* (Moscow: GIZ, 1928)

Grishanin, Vladimir, 'Pravo poroektsii minuvshogo', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 7-8, 1932, 14-15

Heartfield, John, 'Privet brat'yam po klassu', *Sovetskoe iskusstvo*, 1931

---, 'Rozhdennoe v ogne voiny', in *Iskusstvo politicheskogo fotomontazha* (Moscow: Plakat, 1983)

Im Kampf Vereint! Ausstellung Von Fotomontagen Und Zeichnungen: John Heartfield, Alexander Shitomirski, Mieczyslaw Berman, Antonin Pelc (Berlin: Pavillon der Kunst, 1961)

Iskusstvo rabochikh. Kruzhki IZO rabochikh klubov Leningrada i masterskie IZO Oblpolitprosveta pri dpr Im. Gertsena (Leningrad: Gosudarstvennyi Russkii muzei, 1928)

Khalaminsky, Yury, *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky* (Moscow: "Sovetsky khudozhnik," 1951)

Kish, Egon, 'Velichaishy khudozhnik sovremennosti', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 3, 1932, 14-15

Klinch, Ben, 'Fotomontazh-peredovoi uchastok skusstva', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 2, 1933, 26-27

---, 'Fotosatiru v arsenal agit-masovoi raboty', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 6, 1932, 24-25

Klutsis [Klucis], Gustav, 'Fotomontazh kak novyi vid agitatsionnogo iskusstva', in *Izofront. Klassovaya bor'ba na fronte prostranstvennykh iskusstv. Sbornik statei ob'edineniya 'Oktyabr'*, ed. by Peter Novitsky (Moscow, Leningrad: OGIZ-IZOGIZ, 1931), 119-132

---, 'Fotomontazh, kak novyi vid agitatsionnogo iskusstva', *Literatura i iskusstvo*, 9, No. 10 (1931), 86-95

---, 'Mirovye dostizhenie', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 6, 1932, 14-15

Kogan, Petr, *Literatura etikh let* (Ivanovo-Voznesensk: Izdatel'stvo "Osnova," 1924)

Kostin, Vladimir, 'Fotomontazh i mekhanisticheskie oshibki "Oktyabrya"', *Za proletarskoe iskusstvo*, No. 7-8, 1932, 18-21

---, 'Yazyk klassovoi nenavisti', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 3, 1932, 21

Krasnov, Platon, 'A. M. Rodchenko', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 7, 1936, 16-25

---, 'Sovetskoe Kino', *Uchitel'skaya gazeta*, 5 February 1927

Kuleshov, Lev, 'Amerkanshchina', *Kino-fot*, No. 1, 1922, 14-15

---, 'Dom nenavisti', *Kino-fot*, No. 6, 1922, 5-6

Kusakov, Oleg, 'Sotsial'noe znachenie fotomontazha', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 5, 1930, 130-131

Lelevich, Georgii, 'Lenin v izobrazitel'nom iskusstve', *Sovetsky muzei*, No. 1, 1931, 21-22

- Lenin, Vladimir, 'Pis'mo k amerikanskim rabochim', in *Polnoe sobranie sochineny* (Moscow: Institut Marksizma-leninizma pri TsK KPSS, Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1969), XXXVII, 48-64
- , 'Zadachi soyuzov molodezhi. (Rech' Na III Vserossiiskom s'ezde Rossiiskogo Kommunisticheskogo Soyuza Molodezhi 2 oktyabrya 1920g.)', in *Polnoe sobranie sochineny* (Moscow: Institut Marksizma-leninizma pri TsK KPSS, Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1981), XLI, 300-318
- Lin, Il'ya, *Lenin i deti* (Moscow: Molodaya gvardiya, 1924)
- Litovsky, Osaf, 'Samoe operativnoe iskusstvo', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 7, 1935, 4-5
- Lunacharskii, Anatolii, 'Lunacharskii – v Skretariat TsK VKP (b) Ob oshibke, dopuschennoi v zhurnale 'Iskusstvo', 1929
<<http://www.alexanderyakovlev.org/fond/issues-doc/1014540>>
- Matsa, I., ed., 'Postanovlenie TsK VKP(b) o plakatno-kartinnoi produktsii. (Ot 11 marta 1931 g.)', in *Sovetskoe iskusstvo za 15 Let: Materyaly i dokumentatsiya* (Moscow, Leningrad: OGIZ-IZOGIZ, 1933), 643-644
- Mayakovsky, 'Vladimir Il'ich Lenin', in *Polnoe sobranie sochineny v 13 tomakh* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1955), VI, 231-310
- , 'Pro Eto', in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii v 13-ti tomakh* (Moscow: AN SSSR, Institut Mirovoi literatury im. Gor'kogo, GIKhL, 1957), IV, 429-430
- , *Razgovor s fininspektorom o poezii* (Tiflis: Zakkniga, 1927)
- Mezhericher, Leonid, "'U nikh i u nas", Fotootkrytka kak sredstvo bolshevistskoi Informatsii', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 3, 1932, 11
- , 'K voprosu ob iskusstve i sovremennosti', in *Sovetsky fotograficheskyy al'manakh*, ed. by V. P. Mikulin (Moscow: "Ogonek," 1930), 43-103
- , 'O realizme v sovetskom fotoiskusstve', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 1, 1935, 4-7
- , 'Ovladet' seriinoi s'emkoi politicheskaya zadacha fotografii', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 4, 1931, 13-19
- , 'Raboty Khartfil'da - obraztsy klassovo napravlennogo masterstva', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 3, 1932, 18-19
- , 'Seriinye foto - vysshaya stupen' fotopropagandy', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 3, 1931, 6-7

- , 'Veshch' ogromnoi vospitatel'noi sily', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 7-8, 1932, 9-10
- Molotov, Vyacheslav, 'Vystuplenie po radio V. M. Molotova 22 Iyunya 1941 goda', *Izvestiya* (Moscow, 24 June 1941), No. 147 (7523) edition
- Morozov, Sergei, 'Fotoreporter v muzee zhivopisi', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 1, 1935, 14-15
- P., L., 'Za Proletarsky khudozhestvennyi metod fotomontazha. Dzhon Khartfil'd peredovoi fotomonter mira', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 3, 1932, 14-15
- Palagin, N., 'Nash pervyi fotomontazh', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 23, 1930, 677
- Petrov, N. D., *Svetovaya gazeta i diapozitivы dlya nee* (Moscow: Aktsionernoe izdatel'skoe obshchestvo "Ogonek," 1930)
- Piotrovsky, Adrian, 'K teorii kino-zhanrov', in *Poetika kino* (Moscow, Leningrad: Kinopechat', 1927)
- Pitersky, L., 'Foto v Leningrade v oktyabrskie dni', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 10, 1933, 21-25
- Rall', U., 'Kak my sdelali fotomontazh', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 10, 1930, 270
- Raskol'nikov, Fedor, 'Otkrytoe pis'mo Stalinu', in *Otkryvaya novye strnitsy... Mezhdunarodnye voprosy: sobitiya i ludi* (Moscow: Politizdat, 1989), 313-320
- Rodchenko, Aleksandr, *Opyty dlya budushchego. Dnevniky, stat'i, pis'ma, zapiski* (Moscow: Grant', 1996)
- , 'Perestroika khudozhnika', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 5-6, 1936, 19-21
- Roginskaya, Faina, *Sovetsky lubok* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo AKhR, 1929)
- Ryabinkin, L., 'Protiv chuzhdykh teorii o plakate', *Za Proletarskoe iskusstvo*, No. 5, 1932, 2-3
- S., Al., 'SSSR na stroike', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 2, 1931, 25-27
- Sahaginyan, Marietta, *Mess Mend ili yanki v Petrograde*, 10 vols. (Moscow, Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe idatel'stvo, 1924)
- Shaikhet, Arkady, 'Zakonen li metod vostanovleniya fakta?', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 7-8, 1932, 11
- Shaikhet, Arkady, Maks Al'pert, and Solomon Tules, 'Kak my snimali Filippovykh', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 4, 1931, 46
- Shklovsky, Viktor, *Eizenshtein. "Bronenosets Potemkin"* (Moscow: Kinopechat', 1926)

- , 'Fotografiya i ee tembr', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 2, 1926, 194-195
- , 'Ikh nastoyashchee', in *Za sorok let. Stat'i o kino* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1965), 69-99
- , 'Novootkryti Pushkin. (M. Gor'ky. Rabsel'koram i voenkoram. O tom kak ya uchilsya pisat'. GIZ, 1928 g.)', *Novyi LEF*, No. 11, 1928, 47-48
- , 'Pogranichnaya Linya', in *Za sorok let. Stat'i o kino* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1965), 109-111
- , 'Sergei Eizenshtein i neigrovaya fil'ma', *Novyi LEF*, No. 4, 1927, 34-35
- Shul'ts, P., and M. Dmitriev, 'K probleme monumental'nogo fotoizobrazheniya', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 10, 1932, 21
- Sofronov, N., 'Vynesem foto na ulitsy i ploschadi gorodov i kolkhozov', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 1, 1932, 21-25
- Stalin, Iosif, 'Dva puti', in *Sobranie sochineny* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1946), III, 210-213
- , 'Novaya obstanovka – novye zadachi khozyaistvennogo stroitel'stva: Rech' na soveshchani khozyaststvennikov 23 iyunya 1931 g.', in *Sobranie sochineny* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1951), XIII, 51-80
- , 'Ob industrializatsii i khlebnui probleme: Rech' na plenum TsK VKP(b) iyulya 1928 g', in *Sobranie sochineny* (Moscow: OGIZ, Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1949), XI, 157-187
- , 'Politicheskyy otchet Tsentral'nogo Komiteta XVI s'ezdu VKP (b) 27 iyunya 1930 g', in *Sobranie sochineny* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1949), XII, 235-373
- Tess, Tatyana, and S. Senkin, *Marsh molodykh* (Moscow: Molodaya gvardiya, 1931)
- Timofeev, Kantselenbogen, and Shingarev, 'Fotokruzhok "Elektrozavoda."', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 21, 1930, 615
- Tret'yakov, Sergei, 'Chem zhivo kino', *Novyi LEF*, No. 5, 1928, 23-29
- , 'Chto novogo', *Novyi LEF*, No. 9, 1928, 1-5
- , *Dzhon Hartfield. Monographiya* (Moscow: OGIZ, 1936)
- , 'Fotomontazhi khudozhnika-bolshevika', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 12, 1935, 3-8
- , 'Gazeta na shestakh', *Novyi LEF*, No. 10, 1927, 18-20

- , 'Kak desyatiletit', *Novyi LEF*, No. 4, 1927, 35-37
- , 'Kino k yubileyu', *Novyi LEF*, No. 10, 1927, 27-31
- , 'Lef i Nep', *LEF*, No. 2, 1923, 70-78
- , 'Nashi tovarishchi', *Novyi LEF*, No. 10, 1928, 1
- , 'Novyi Lev Tolstoi', *Novyi LEF*, 10, No. 1 (1927), 34-38
- , 'Ot fotoserii - k dlitel'nomu fotonabludeniyu', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 4, 1931, 20-45
- , 'Raport proletarskogo khudozhnika, boitsa bratskoi kompartii', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 3, 1932, 16-18
- , 'S Novyim Godom! S Novyim Lefom!', *Novyi LEF*, No. 1, 1928, 1-3
- , 'Tribuna Lefa', *LEF*, No. 3, 1923, 154-164
- , *Tsytyacha i odin trudoden'* (Moscow: Sovetskaya literatura, 1934)
- , 'Vot spasibo', *Novyi LEF*, No. 5, 1927, 45-47
- Troshin, Nikolai, *Osnovy kompozitsii v fotografii* (Moscow: Aktsionernoe izdatel'skoe obshchestvo "Ogonek," 1929)
- , 'Puti foto-kul'tury. Ocherk pervyi. Zhivopis' i fotografiya', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 1, 1928, 10-13
- , 'Puti foto-kul'tury. Ocherk vtoroi. Svet i fotografiya', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 2, 1928, 50-55
- , 'Puti foto-kul'tury. Ocherk trety. Ton i fotografiya', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 3, 1928, 104-107
- , 'Puti foto-kul'tury. Ocherk chetvertyi. Ob'em i fotografiya', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 4, 1928, 156-160
- , 'Puti foto-kul'tury. Ocherk pyaty. Prostranstvo i fotografiya', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 5, 1928, 203-207
- , 'Puti foto-kul'tury. Ocherk shestoi. Kompozitsiya i fotografiya', *Sovetskoe foto*, No. 8, 1928, 338-345
- Tynyanov, Yury, 'Ob osnovakh kino', in *Poetika, istoriya literatury, kino* (Moscow: Nauka, 1977), 326-345
- Varshavsky, Lev, 'Zhivye maski deistvitel'nosti. O fotosatire B. Klincha', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 2, 1933, 20-23

- Volkov-Lanit, 'Za ob'ektivnost' ob'ektiva', *Novyi LEF*, No. 7, 1928, 41-43
- Voronin, Nikolai, 'Za soyuz literatury i foto (V poryadke diskussii)', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 10, 1932, 20
- Yakubinsky, Lev, 'O snizhenii vysokogo stilya u Lenina', *LEF*, No. 1, 1924, 71-80
- Zherebtsov, E., 'Bolshe tvorcheskogo zamysla', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 7-8, 1932, 12
- Zhitomirsky, Alexander, *Iskusstvo politicheskogo fotomontazha* (Moscow: Plakat, 1983)

Secondary sources: Books and articles.

- 'The Gray Ghost (1917)', *Progressive Silent Film List*
<<http://www.silentera.com/PSFL/data/G/GrayGhost1917.html>> [accessed 17 January 2012]
- 100 % Ivanovo. Agitatsionnyi tekstil' 1920-kh – 1930-kh Godov iz sobraniya Ivanovskogo gosudarstvennogo istoriko-kraevedcheskogo muzeya im. D. G. Burylina, Vol. I, Ivanovsky igitatsionnyi tekstil': Rozhdenie i zhizn', dizain i proizvodstvo, utraty i muzeefikatsiya* (Moscow: Pervaya publikatsiya, 2010)
- Akhiezer, Aleksandr, 'Arkhaizatsiya v rossiiskom obschestve kak metodologicheskaya problema', *Obshchetsvennye nauki*, No. 2, 2001, 89-100
- Akinsha, Konstantin, 'Ideologiya, kak ornament', in *100 % Ivanovo. Agitatsionnyi tekstil' 1920-kh – 1930-kh godov iz sobraniya Ivanovskogo gosudarstvennogo istoriko-kraevedcheskogo muzeya im. D. G. Burylina, Vol. I, Ivanovsky agitatsionnyi tekstil': Rozhdenie i zhizn', dizain i proizvodstvo, utraty i muzeefikatsiya* (Moscow: Pervaya publikatsiya, 2010), 93-99
- , 'Il Naso Di Alfred Flechtheim: Antisemitismo e Immagini Nella Propaganda Nazista', *Storicamente*, 4 (2008)
<http://www.storicamente.org/01_fonti/antisemitismo-akinsha.htm>
- , 'Malevich and Lenin: Image, Ritual and the Cube', in *Rethinking Malevich: Proceedings of a Conference in Celebration of the 125th Anniversary of Kazimir Malevich's Birth*, ed. by Charlotte Douglas and Christina Lodder (London: Pindar Press, 2007), 139-158
- , "'Painting Went Out into the Street": The War of Images Along the Eastern Front', in *Windows on the War: Soviet TASS Posters at Home and Abroad, 1941-1945* (Chicago, Ill.: Art Institute of Chicago, 2011), 137-159
- Aleksandr Rodchenko*, 1998, New York: Museum of Modern Art
<<http://www.moma.org/interactives/exhibitions/1998/rodchenko/index.html>> [accessed 28 November 2011]

- Andreotti, Libero, 'The Aesthetics of War: The Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution', *Journal of Architectural Education*, 45, No. 2 (1992), 76-86
- Aumont, Jacques, *Montage Eisenstein* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1987)
- Baburina, Nina, *Plakat nemogo kino: Rossiya, 1900-1930* (Moscow: Art-Rodnik, 2001)
- Baiburin, Al'bert, and Andrei Toporkov, *U istokov etiketa* (Moscow: Nauka, 1990)
- Baker, George, 'Photography Between Narrativity and Stasis: August Sander, Degeneration, and the Decay of the Portrait', *October*, 76 (1996), 72-113
- Bakushinsky, Anatoly, *Iskusstvo Palekha* (Moscow, Leningrad: "Academiya," 1934)
- Barbusse, Henri, *Staline: Un Monde Nouveau Vu a Travers Un Homme* (Paris: Flammarion, 1935)
- Barkhatova, Elena, 'Modern Icon, or Tool for Mass Propaganda? Russian Debate on the Poster', in *Defining Russian Graphic Arts: From Diaghilev to Stalin, 1898-1934*, ed. by Alla Rosenfeld (New Brunswick N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1999), 132-165
- Barnicoat, John, *A Concise History of Posters* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1972)
- Berdyaev, Nikolai, *Communism and Christians* (London: The Paladin Press, 1938)
- , *Novoe Srednevekovov'e. Razmyshlenie o sud'be Rossii i Evropy* (Berlin: Obelisk, 1924)
- Berger, John, 'The Political Use of Photo-Montage', in *The Look of the Things* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972), 183-189
- Biro, Matthew, *The Dada Cyborg: Visions of the New Human in Weimar Berlin* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 2009)
- Bogdanov, Konstantin, *Vox Populi: Fol'klornye zhanry sovetskoi kul'tury* (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2009)
- Bol'shaya tsenzura. pisateli i zhurnalisty v Strane Sovetov. 1917 – 1956* (Moscow: Materik, 2005)
- Bowlit, John E., 'Stalin as Isis and Ra: Socialist Realism and the Art of Design', *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, 24 (2002), 34-63
- Brandenberger, David, *National Bolshevism: Stalinist Mass Culture and the Formation of Modern Russian National Identity, 1913-1956* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002)
- Brendon, Piers, *The Dark Valley: A Panorama of the 1930s* (New York: Knopf, 2000)
- Brusova, Vera, *Fedor Zubov* (Moscow: Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, 1985)
- Buchloh, Benjamin H. D., 'From Faktura to Factography', *October*, 30 (1984), 82-119

- Burt, Valery, 'Frontovaya madonna', *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 29 September 2004, 38-39 (5989) edition
- Butenko, K., *Fedor Pavlovich Reshetnikov* (Moscow: Sovetsky khudozhnik, 1954)
- Chadaga, Julia Bekman, 'Light in Captivity: Spectacular Glass and Soviet Power in the 1920s and 1930s', *Slavic Review*, 66, No. 1 (2007), 82-105
- Chan, Mary, 'Rodchenko: The Death of Painting', *MoMA*, 1, No. 3 (1998), 2-5
- Chernyshevsky, Nikolai, *Esteticheskie otnosheniya iskusstva i deistvitel'nosti* (Moscow: OGIZ, 1948)
- Chirikov, Evgenii, *Dev'i gory*, in *Sobranie Sochinenii* (Moscow: Moskovskoe knigoizdatel'stvo, 1916), XVI
- Chukovsky, Kornei, *Nat Pinkerton i sovremennaya literatura* (Moscow: "Sovremennoe tovarishchestvo," 1908)
- Czekalski, Stanisław, *Awangarda i Mit Racjonalizacji: Fotomontaz Polski Okresu Dwudziestolecia Miedzywojennego* (Poznan: PTNP, 2000)
- Demetz, Peter, *Prague in Danger: The Years of German Occupation, 1939-45: Memories and History, Terror and Resistance, Theater and Jazz, Film and Poetry, Politics and War* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008)
- Dickerman, Leah, 'Camera Obscura: Socialist Realism in the Shadow of Photography', *October*, 93 (2000), 138-153
- , 'The Fact and the Photograph', *October*, 118 (2006), 132-152
- , 'The Propagandizing of Things', in *Aleksander Rodchenko* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1998), 62-99
- Dobrenko, Evgeny, *Political Economy of Socialist Realism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007)
- , *The Making of the State Writer: Social and Aesthetic Origins of Soviet Literary Culture* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001)
- Dzigan, Efim, *Zhizn'i fil'my: Stat'i, svidetel'stva, vospominaniya, razmyshleniya* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1981)
- Einsiedel, Heinrich Graf von, *The Shadow of Stalingrad: Being the Diary of a Temptation* (London: Allan Wingate, 1953)
- Elagin, Yurii, *Ukroshchenie iskusstv* (Tenafly, N.J.: Ermitazh, 1988)
- Fedorov-Davydov, Aleksei, *Russky peizazh XVIII – nachala XIX veka* (Moscow: "Sovetsky khudozhnik," 1986)
- Fisher, David, and Anthony Read, *The Deadly Embrace: Hitler, Stalin, and the Nazi-Soviet Pact, 1939-1941* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999)

- Gassner, Hubertus, 'Heartfield's Moscow Apprenticeship. 1931-1932', in *John Heartfield*, ed. by Peter Pachnicke and Klaus Honnef (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1992), 256-289
- Gough, Maria, 'Back in the USSR: John Heartfield, Gustavs Klucis, and the Medium of Soviet Propaganda', *New German Critique*, 36, No. 2 107 (2009), 133-183
- , 'Radical Tourism: Sergei Tret'yakov at the Communist Lighthouse', *October*, 118 (2006), 159-178
- Groys, Boris, *The Total Art of Stalinism: Avant-Garde, Aesthetic Dictatorship, and Beyond* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992)
- Heartfield, John, and David Evans, *John Heartfield, AIZ: Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung, Volks Illustrierte 1930-38*. (New York: Kent Fine Art Inc., 1992)
- Hoffmann, Heinrich, *Hitler Wie Ich Ihn Sah: Aufzeichnungen Seines Leibfotografen* (München: Herbig, 1974)
- Hollander, Martha, *An Entrance for the Eyes: Space and Meaning in Seventeenth-century Dutch Art* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2002)
- Jennings, Michael, 'Agriculture, Industry, and the Birth of the Photo-Essay in the Late Weimar Republic', *October*, 93 (2000), 23-56
- Jung, Carl, 'Approaching the Unconscious', in *Man and His Symbols* (New York: Doubleday, 1964)
- , 'Mandalas', in *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), IX, 388
- , *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, ed. by Aniela Jaffé, Rev. ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1965)
- , *Nietzsche's Zarathustra: Notes of the Seminar Given in 1934-1939*, In 2 vol. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988), I
- Kaletskii, Pavel, "'Pinkertonovshchina'", in *Literaturnaya entsiklopediya. V 11 Tomakh* (Moscow: OGIZ-RSFSR, Gosudarstvennoe slovarnoe-entsiklopedicheskoe izdatel'stvo 'Sovetskaya entsiklopediya, 1934), XVIII
- Karasik, Mikhail, 'Lampochka', *Projektor*, 8, No. 3 (2009), 94-99
- , *Udrnaya Kniga Sovetskoi Detvory* (Moscow: Kontakt-Kul'tura, 2010)
- Karner, Stefan, *Im Archipel GUPVI: Kriegsgefangenschaft Und Internierung in Der Sowjetunion 1941-1956* (Wien and München: R. Oldenbourg, 1995)
- Kiaer, Christina, *Imagine No Possessions: The Socialist Objects of Russian Constructivism* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005)

- King, David, *The Commissar Vanishes: The Falsification of Photography and Art in Stalin's Russia. Photographs from The David King Collection* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1997)
- Knoblok, Boris, *Grani priznaniya. Vospominaniya khudozhnika-dekoratora*. (Moscow: Vserossiiskoe tetral'noe obshchestvo, 1986)
- Kogan, Petr, *Literatura etikh let* (Ivanovo-Voznesensk: Izdatel'stvo "Osnova," 1924)
- Kriebel, Sabine, 'Photomontage in the Year 1932: John Heartfield and the National Socialists', *Oxford Art Journal*, 31, No. 1 (2008), 97-127
- Kurdov, Valentin, 'O vzaimootnosheniyakh K. S. Malevicha i V. E. Tatlina', in *Malevich o sebe, sovremenniki o Maleviche: Pis'ma, dokumenty, vospominaniya, kritika*, ed. by I. Vakar and T. Mikineko, 2 vols. (Moscow: RA, 2004), II, 394-397
- Lipatov, Sergei, and Valery Yakimenko, 'Marsh cherez Moskvu. Stalin, prognav cherez stolitsu kolonnu izmozhdennykh nemtsev, khotel pochuvstvovat' sebya triumfatorom', *Nezavisimoe voennoe obozrenie*, 16 July 2004
- Lodder, Christina, 'Prints for the People: The Popular Printed Image in Russia Before the Revolution', in *Constructive Strands in Russian Art 1914-1937* (London: Pindar Press, 2005), 1-30
- , 'Promoting Constructivism: Kino-fot and Rodchenko's Move Into Photography', in *Constructive Strands in Russian Art 1914-1937* (London: Pindar Press, 2005), 365-391
- , *Russian Constructivism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983)
- Lotman, Yurii, 'Semiotika kino i problemy kinoestetiki', in *Ob iskusstve* (St. Petersburg: Iskusstvo-SPb, 1998), 288-372
- Lavrent'ev, Aleksandr, 'About This Book', in *IT* (Berlin: Ars Nicolai, 1994), 71-77
- , *Alexander Rodchenko: Photography 1924-1954* (Edison, N.J.: Knickerbocker Press, 1996)
- , *Laboratoriya konstruktivizma. Opyty graficheskogo issledovaniya* (Moscow: Grant, 2000)
- Malikova, Mariya, 'Khalturoveden'e: Sovetsky psevdoperevodnoi roman perioda NEPa', *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie*, No. 103, 2010, 109-139
- Marcadé, Jean-Claude, 'Photomontage as Experiment and Agitprop', in *Russian and Soviet Collages: 1920s - 1990s* (St. Petersburg: Palace Edition, 2005), 7-19
- Margolin, Victor, *The Struggle for Utopia: Rodchenko, Lissitzky, Moholy-Nagy: 1917-1946* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1997)
- Meadow, Mark, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder's: "Netherlandish Proverbs" and the Practice of Rhetoric* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2002)

- Mellerio, André, 'La Lithographie Originale En Couleurs', in *The Color Revolution: Color Lithography in France, 1890-1900*, trans. by Margaret Needham (Santa Barbara: P. Smith, 1978), 94-96
- Metz, Christian, 'Photography and Fetish', in *The Photography Reader*, ed. by Liz Wells (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 138-139
- Michalski, Katarzyna, and Sergiusz Michalski, *Spider* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010)
- Mikhailova, Mariya, 'Ludi i zveri Evgeniya Chirikova', *Slovo. Filologiya*
<<http://www.portal-slovo.ru/philology/39028.php>> [accessed 16 January 2012]
- Mirer, Raisa, 'Vospominaniya', *Ya pomnu. Vospominaniya veteranov VOV*
<<http://iremember.ru/grazhdanskie/mirer-raisa-isaakovna/stranitsa-11.html>>
[accessed 16 December 2011]
- Morukov, Mikhail, 'The White Sea-Baltic Canal', in *The Economics of Forced Labor: The Soviet Gulag* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 2003), 151-162
- Mostra Della Rivoluzione Fascista*, (Rome: Partito Nazionale Fascista, 1932)
- Mount, Christopher, and Peter Kenez, *Stenberg Brothers: Constructing a Revolution in Soviet Design* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1999)
- Nemirovskaya, Maya, 'Nesbyvshayasya mechta', *Lekhaim*, 2000
<<http://www.lechaim.ru/ARHIV/99/nemirovskaya.htm>> [accessed 14 December 2011]
- Oginskaya, Lidiya, *Gustav Klutsis* (Moscow: Sovetsky khudozhnik, 1981)
- Oksenov, Innokentii, 'Mayakovsky i Pushkin', in *Pushkin: Vremmenik Pushkinskoi komissii* (Moscow, Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1937), III, 283-311
- Opolchenie na zashchite Moskvy: Dokumenty i materyaly o formirovanii i boevykh deistviyakh Moskovskogo narodnogo opolcheniya v iyule 1941 – yanvare 1942 g* (Moscow: Moskovsky rabochy, 1978)
- Panchenko, Aleksandr, '"Potemkinskie Derevni", kak kul'turnyi mif', in *Russkaya istoriya i kul'tura: Raboty raznykh let* (St. Petersburg: Una, 1999), 462-475
- Perloff, Nancy, and Brian Reed, *Situating El Lissitzky: Vitebsk, Berlin, Moscow* (Los Angeles, Calif.: Getty Research Institute, 2003)
- Pisiotis, Argyrios K., 'Images of Hate in the Art of War', in *Culture and Entertainment in Wartime Russia*, ed. by Richard Stites (Indianapolis, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1995), 141-157
- Piskun, Evgeny, *Nikolai Troshin* <<http://tululu.ru/read15058/1/>>
- Plamper, Jan, *Alkhimiya vlasti: Kul't Stalina v izobrazitel'nom iskusstve* (Moskva: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2010)

- Rhodes, Anthony, *Propaganda. The Art of Persuasion: World War II* (New York, London: Angus and Robertson Publishers, Chelsea House Publishers, 1984)
- Russell, Robert, 'Red Pinkertonism: An Aspect of Soviet Literature of the 1920s', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 60, No. 3 (1982), 390-412
- Russov, Anatoly, 'Skvoz' vspyshki chernogo i belogo', in *Iskusstvo politicheskogo fotomontazha* (Moscow: Plakat, 1983)
- Schaichet, Arkadij, *Pionier Sowjetischer Photographie* (Cologne: Galerie Alex Lachmann, 1995)
- Schmölders, Claudia, *Hitler's Face: The Biography of an Image* (Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006)
- Server, Lee, *Encyclopedia of Pulp Fiction Writers* (New York: Checkmark Books, 2002)
- Shantyko, Nina, 'Klutsis – illustrator Mayakovskogo', *Khudozhnik*, No. 2, 1970, 19-20
- Shepilov, Dmitry, *The Kremlin's Scholar: a Memoir of Soviet Politics Under Stalin and Krushchev* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007)
- Shiels, Duncan, *Die Brüder Rajk: Ein Europäisches Familiendrama* (Vienna: Zsolnay, 2008)
- Shlepyanov, Il'ya, *Stat'i, zametki. Sovremenniki o Shlepyanove* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1969)
- Simmons, Sherwin, "'Hand to the Friend, Fist to the Foe": The Struggle of Signs in the Weimar Republic', *Journal of Design History*, 13, No. 4 (2000), 319-340
- Sinclair, Upton, *Der Sündenlohn* (Berlin: Malik Verlag, 1929)
- Snitkovskaya, Galina, *Viktor Koretsky* (Moscow: Planeta, 1984)
- Sosnovsky, Leonid, 'A Sixth Part of the World', in *Lines of Resistance: Dziga Vertov and the Twenties*, ed. by Yuri Tsivian (Gemonia, Udine: Le Giornate del cinema muto, 2004), 220-223
- Spinar, Zdeněk, *Life Before Man* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973)
- Stein, Sally, "'Good Fences Make Good Neighbors": American Photomontage Between the Wars', in *Montage and Modern Life. 1919 – 1942*, ed. by Matthew Teitelbaum (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, Boston Institute of Contemporary Art, 1992), 128-189
- Stephan, Halina, *"Lef" and the Left Front of the Arts* (München: Sagner, 1981)
- Taylor, Brandon, 'Montage and Its Comedies', *Oxford Art Journal*, 16, No. 2 (1993), 91-96
- , 'Photo-Painting and Avant-Garde in Soviet Russia', *History of Photography*, 24, No. 4 (2000), 283-291

- Telingater, Vladimir, 'Monya-komsomolets. Vospominaniya o khudozhnike Solomone Telingatere', *Iskusstvo kino*, 2004 <<http://kinoart.ru/2004/n8-article22.html>> [accessed 14 December 2011]
- Tolstoy, Vladimir, Irina Bibikova, and Catherine Cooke, eds., *Street Art of the Revolution: Festivals and Celebrations in Russia 1918-33* (New York NY: Vendome Press, 1990)
- Tsivian, Yuri, 'Dziga Vertov and His Time', in *Lines of Resistance: Dziga Vertov and the Twenties*, ed. by Yuri Tsivian (Gemonia, Udine: Le Giornate del cinema muto, 2004), 1-27
- Tumarkin, Nina, *Lenin Lives!: The Lenin Cult in Soviet Russia* (Cambridge, Mass. – London: Harvard University Press, 1983)
- Tupitsyn, Margarita, *Gustavs Klucis and Valentina Kulagina: Photography and Montage After Constructivism* (New York : International Center of Photography; and Gottingen: Steidel, 2004)
- , 'Lenin's Death and the Birth of Political Photographmontage', in *The Soviet Photograph, 1924-1937* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 9-34
- Volkov-Lanit, Leonid, *Aleksandr Rodchenko. Risuet, fotografiruet, sporit.* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1968)
- Waugh, Alexander, *The House of Wittgenstein: a Family at War* (London, Berlin, New York: Bloomsbury, 2008)
- Wescher, Herta, *Die Collage* (Cologne: M. DuMont Schauberg, 1968)
- Weston, Helen, 'The Light of Wisdom: Magic Lanternists as Truth-tellers in Post-revolutionary France', in *Efflorescence of Caricature, 1759 – 1838* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 79-93
- Wolf, Erika, 'Appendix G. Issues of SSSR na stroike Designed by Nikolai Troshin', in *USSR in Construction: From Avant-garde to Socialist Realist Practice* (Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Michigan, 1998), 274-275
- , 'USSR in Construction: From Avant-garde to Socialist Realist Practice' (unpublished Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1998)
- Wölfflin, Heinrich, 'Closed and Open Form. Painting', in *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art* (New York: Dover Publications, 1956)
- Zegers, Peter, 'Storied Windows', in *Windows on the War: Soviet TASS Posters at Home and Abroad, 1941-1945* (Chicago, Ill.: Art Institute of Chicago, 2011), 160-377
- Zherebtsov, E., 'Bolshe tvorcheskogo zamysla', *Proletarskoe foto*, No. 7-8, 1932, 12
- Zhitomirsky, Alexander, *Personal Collages 1931-1935* (New York: Nailya Alexander Gallery, 2005)

---, *Political Photomontage* (San Francisco: Robert Koch Gallery, 1994)

Zhitomirsky, Vladimir, 'Years of Happiness, Years of Becoming', in *Personal Collages 1931-1935* (New York: Nailya Alexander Gallery, 2005), 10-18

Archives and collections:

A. Rodchenko and V. Stepanova Archive, Moscow.
Alex Lachmann Collection, London

Arkhiv Aleksandra N. Yakovleva, Moscow

Department of Manuscripts, Russian State Library, Moscow.

Department of Prints and Drawings, Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Department of Visual Materials, Russian State Library, Moscow.

Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.

Nailya Alexander Gallery, New York.

Ne Boltai Collection, Prague.

Rossiisky tsentr khraneniya i izucheniya dokumentov noveishei istorii (RTsKhDNI), Moscow.

The Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Journals and Magazines:

Brigada khudozhnikov

Collier's Weekly

Daesh

History of Photography

Ya pomnu. Vospominaniya veteranov VOV

Iskusstvo kino

Journal of Architectural Education

Journal of Design History

Khudozhnik

Kino-fot

Lekhaim

MoMA

New German Critique

Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie

Novuy LEF

Obshchetsvennyye nauki

October

Oxford Art Journal

Projektor

Proletarskoe foto

Proletarskoe foto

Slavic Review

Slovo

Sovetskoe foto

Sovetsky muzei

Storicamente

The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts

The Slavonic and East European Review

Time

Za proletarskoe iskusstvo

Znamya

Newspapers:

Krasnaya zvezda

Literatura i iskusstvo

Literaturnaya gazeta

Nezavisimoe voennoe obozrenie

Pravda

Uchitel'skaya gazeta

ILLUSTRATIONS

Chapter 1.

Photomontage in the USSR: 1923 – 1940



Figure 1.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

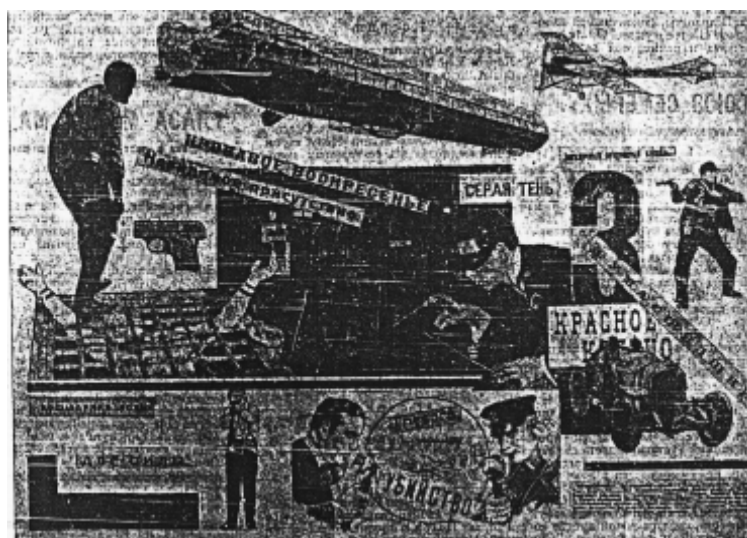
Psikhologiya [Psychology]. Collage for *Kino-fot*, No 3, 1922.

Figure 2.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Detektiv [Detective]. Photomontage. *Kino-fot*, No 3, 1922.



Figure 3.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Cover design. Photomontage. 1924.



Figure 4.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Lovlu ravnoesie... [Catching balance...] Photomontage. 1923.

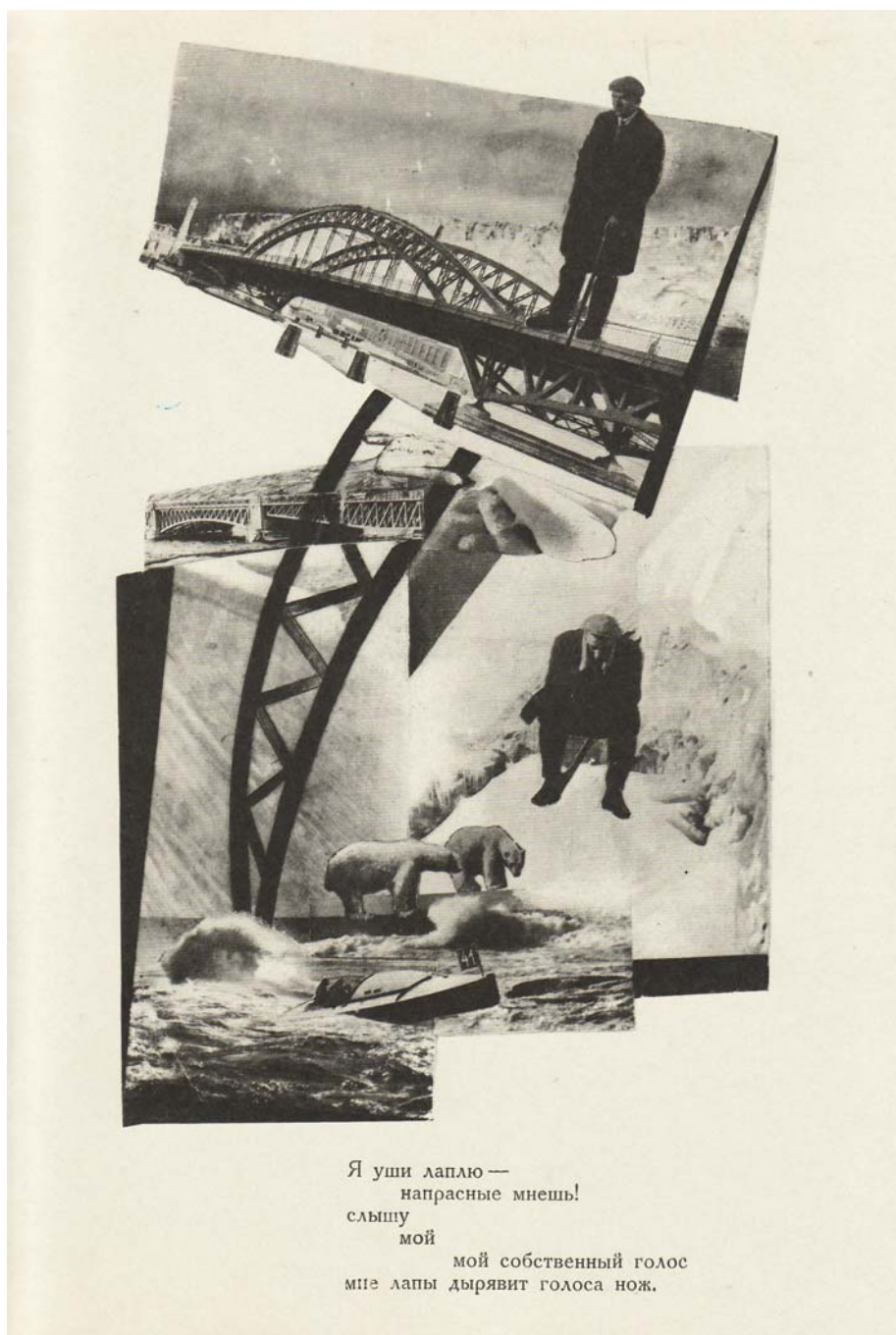


Figure 5.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Ya ushi lapau... [I am touching my ears...] Photomontage. 1923.



Figure 6.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

V posteli ona lezhit... [She lies in bed...]. Photomontage. 1923.



Figure 7.

Anonymous.

The beheading of John the Baptist. Icon, end of the 17th century.



Figure 8.

Sandro Botticelli.

Inferno. Drawing, 1480s.



Figure 9.

Pieter Bruegel the Elder.

Netherlandish Proverbs. Painting, 1559.



Figure 10.

Domenico Fetti.

The Parable of the Mote and the Beam. Painting, 1619.

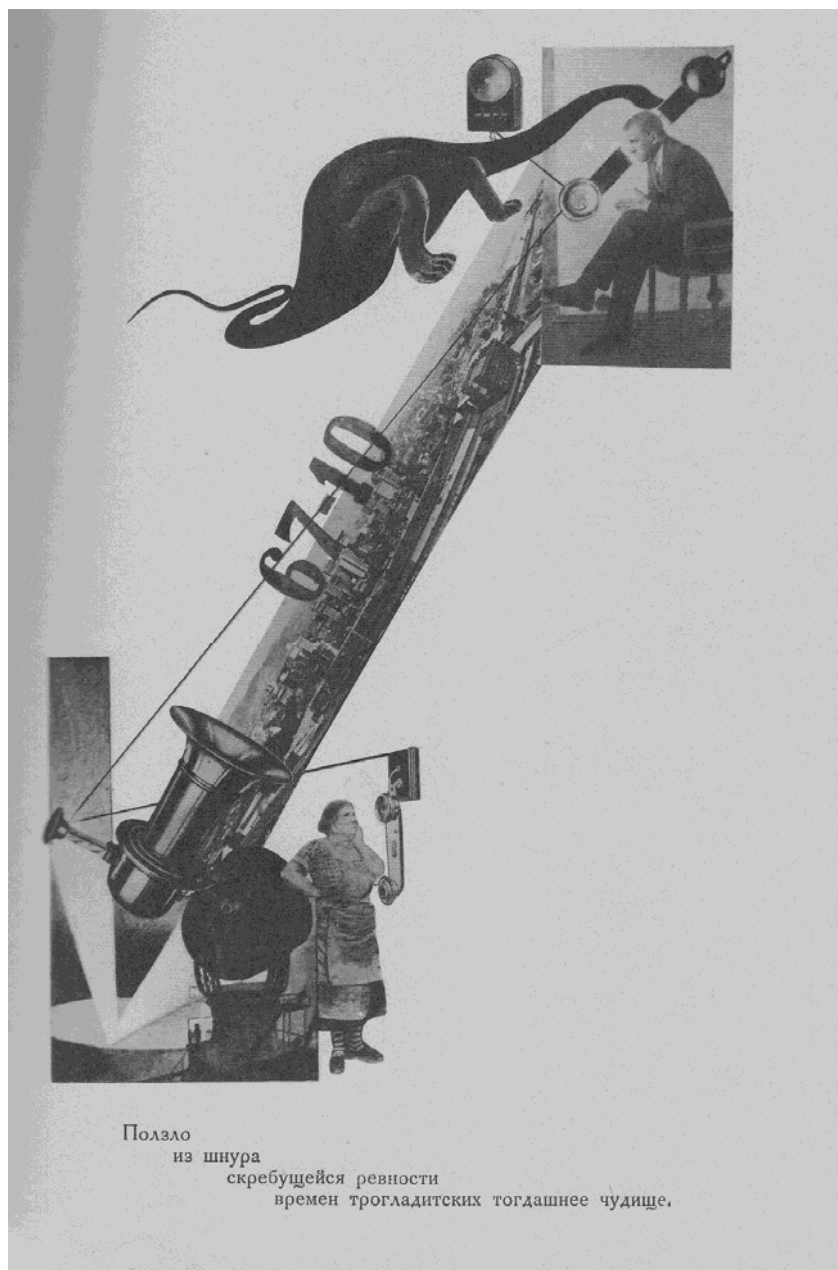


Figure 11.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

*Polzlo iz shnura skrebushcheisya revnosti....**[It was crawling out of a cable as the scratching jealousy...] Photomontage, 1923.*

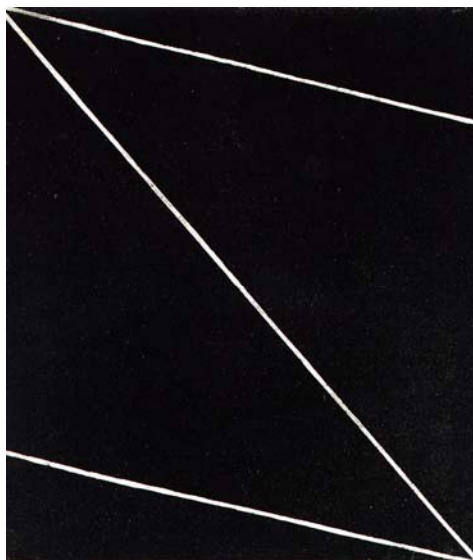


Figure 12.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Construction No 128 (Line). Painting, 1920.



Figure 13.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Untitled. Collage, 1922.



Figure 14.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Cover design. Photomontage. 1923.

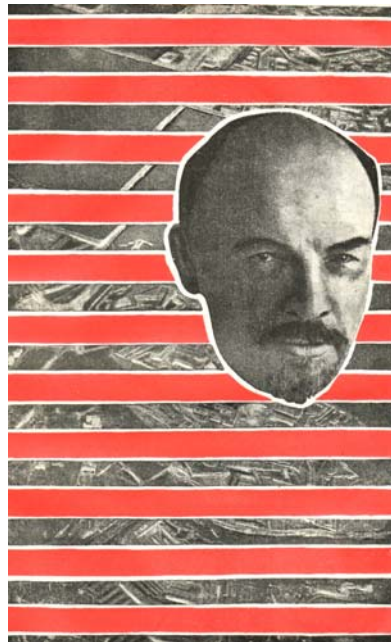


Figure 15.

Sergei Sen'kin

Untitled. Photomontage. 1924.

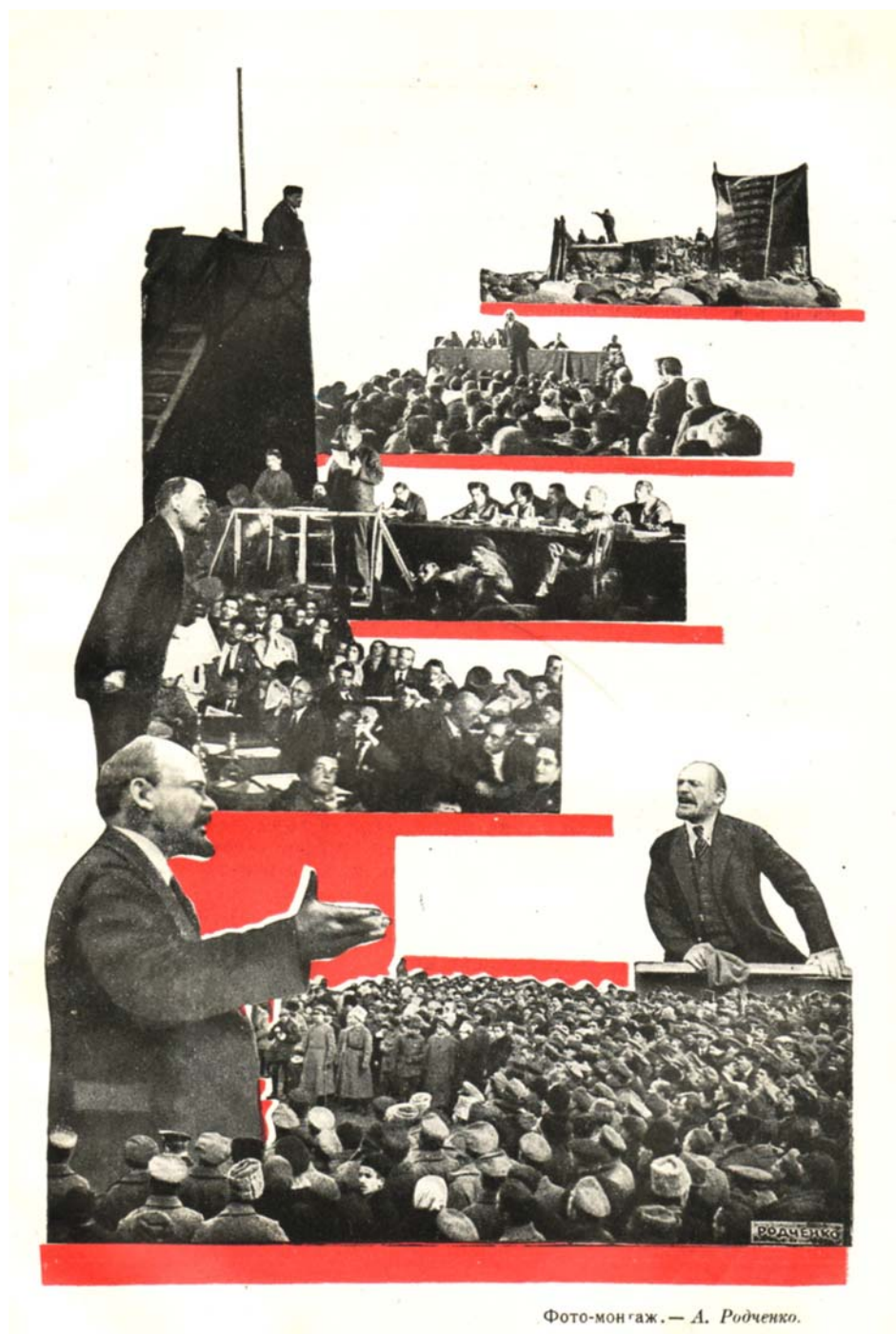


Figure 16.

Aleksandr Rodchenko

Untitled. Photomontage. 1924.



Figure 17.

Aleksandr Rodchenko

Untitled. Colage. 1924.



Figure 18.

El' Lissitzkii

Klinom krasnuim bei beluikh [Beat the Whites with the Red Wedge]. Poster, 1920.



Figure 19.

Gustavs Klucis.

Dynamic City. Photomontage 1919.



Figure 20.

Gustavs Klucis.

Elektrifikatsiya vsei strany [*The Electrification of the Entire Country*]. Photomontage. 1920.

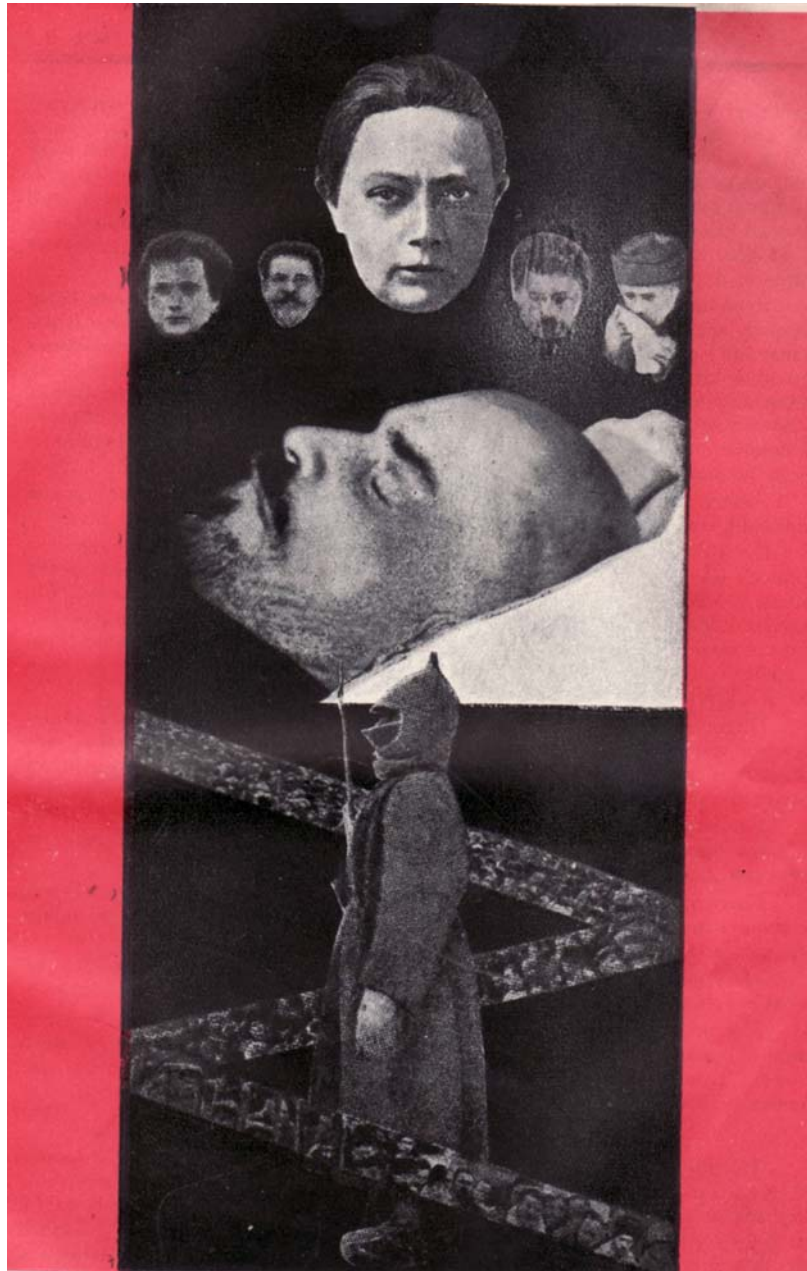


Figure 21.

Gustavs Klucis.

Untitled. Photomontage. 1924.



Figure 22.

Anonumous.

Diesis. Icon, 17th century.

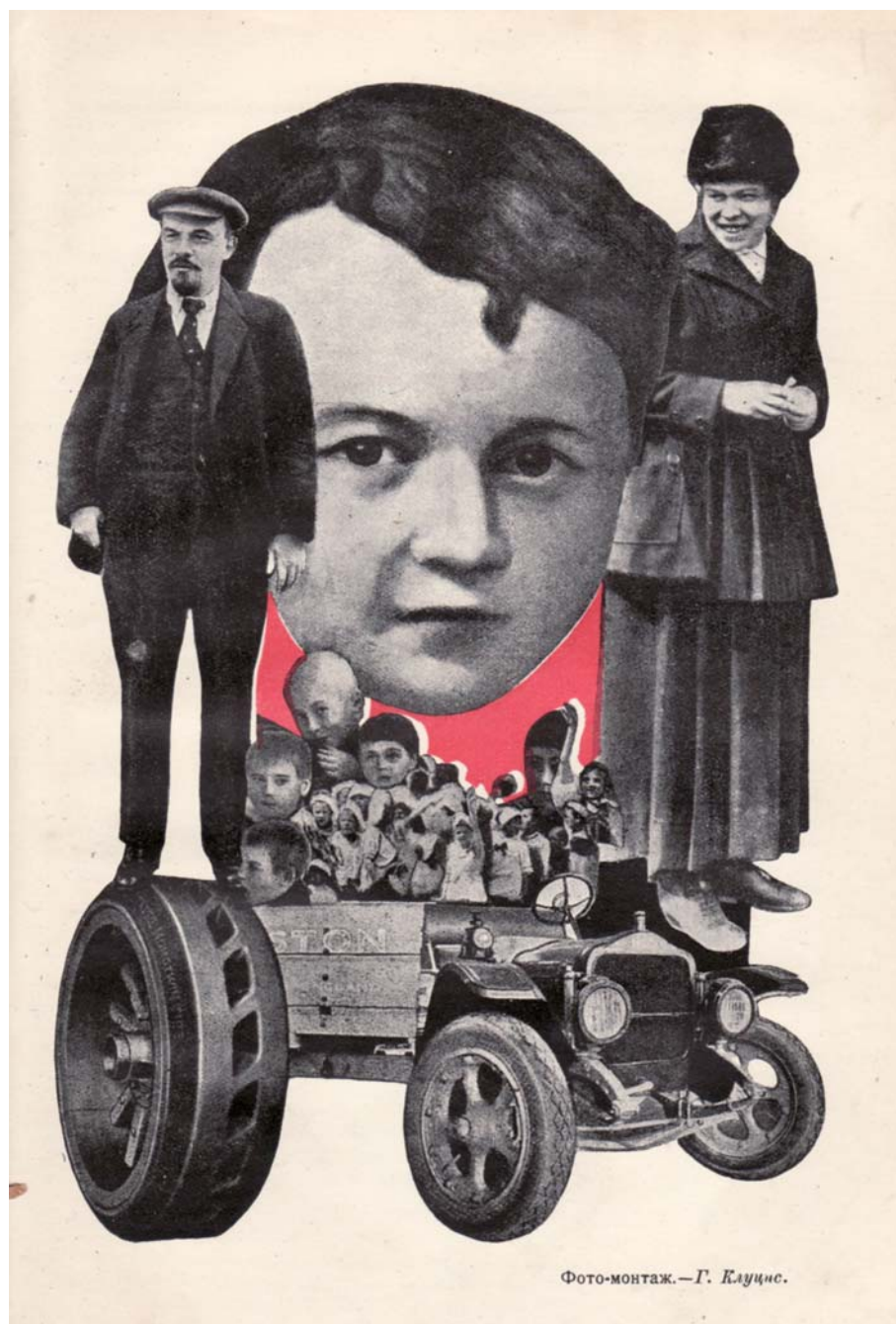


Figure 23.

Gustavs Klucis.

Untitled. Photomontage. 1924.



Figure 24.

Anonymous.

Christ Acheiropoietos with Holy Virgin and John the Baptist. Icon, 1575.



Figure 25.

Gustav Klucis.

Untitled. Photomontage. 1924.

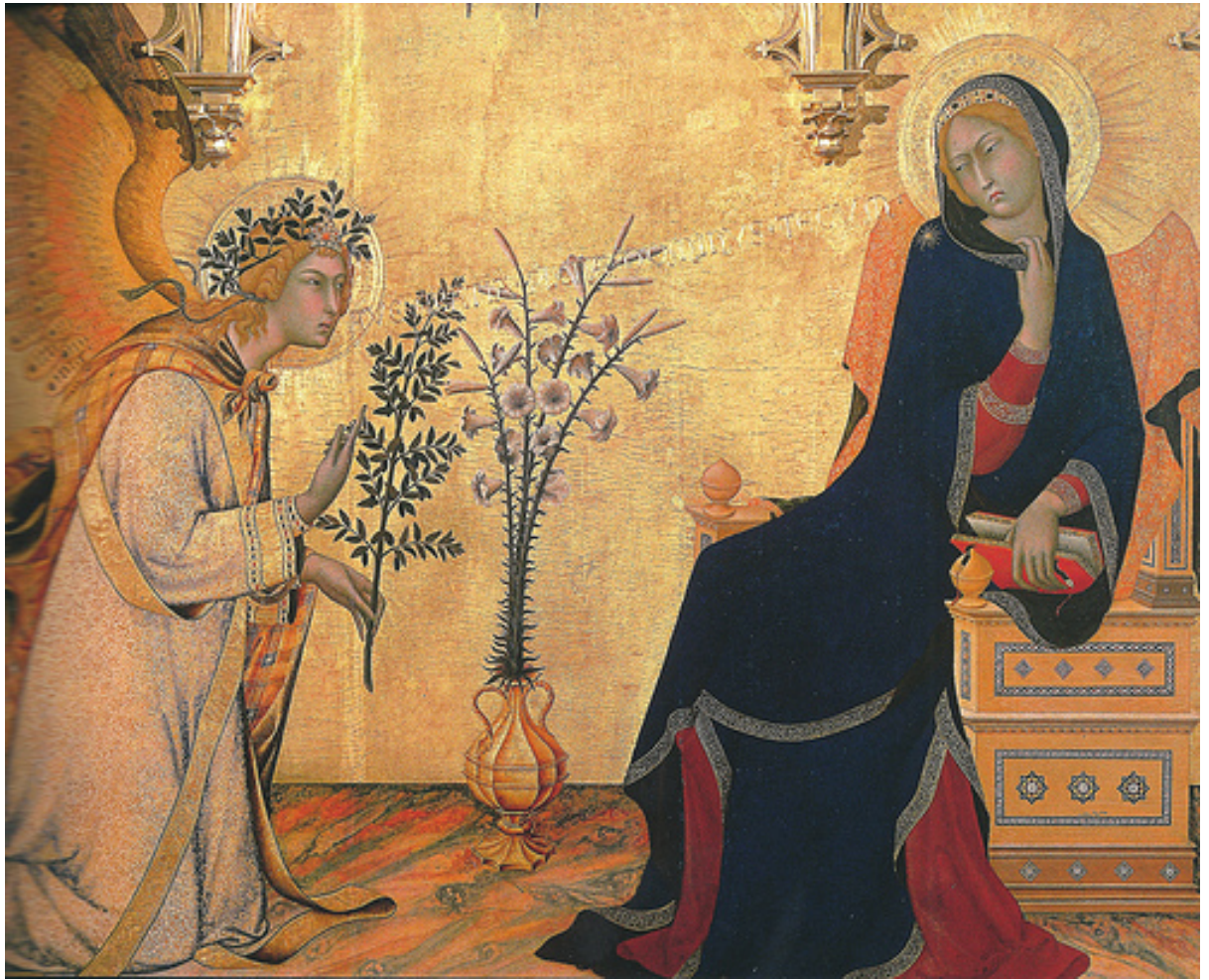


Figure 26.

Simone Martini.

The Annunciation. Painting, 1333.

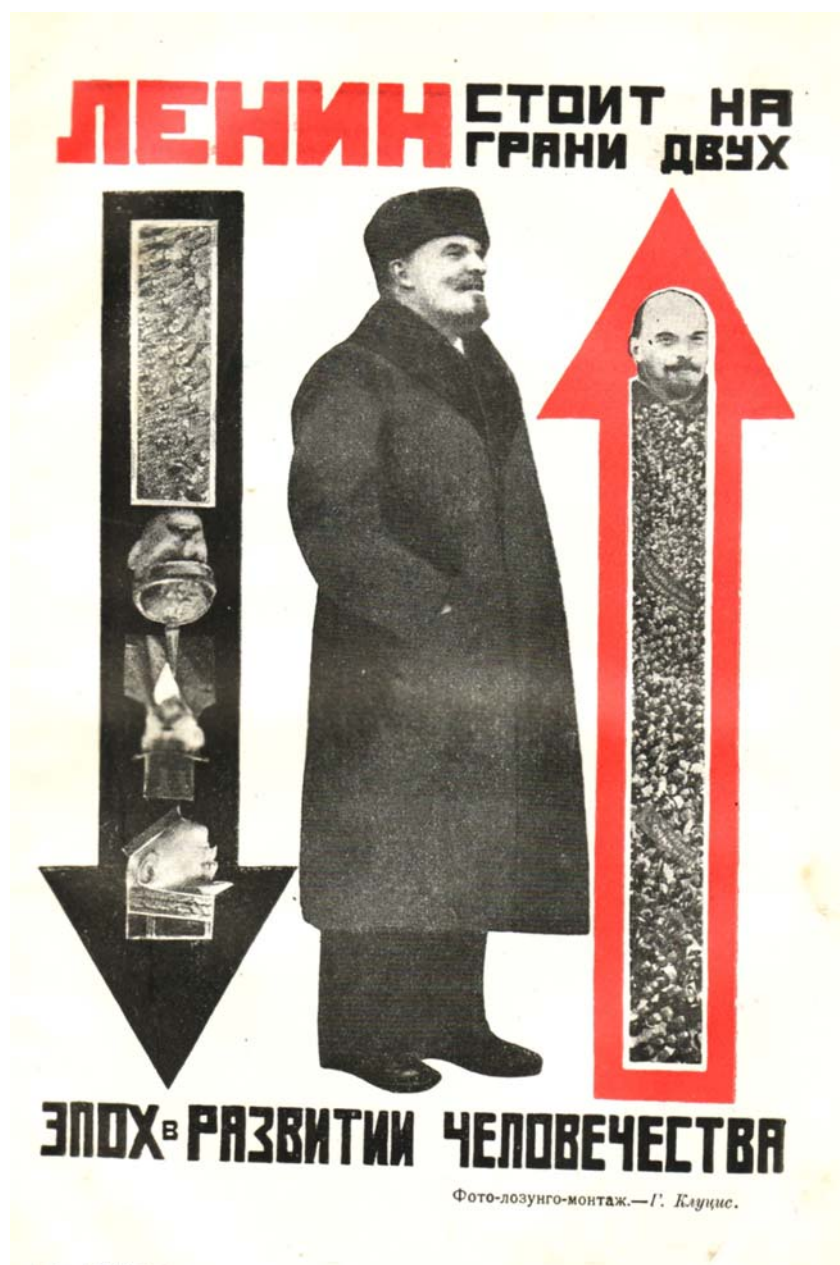


Figure 27.

Gustavs Klucis.

Lenin stoit nag rani dvukh epoch v razvitii chelovechestva

[Lenin Stands on the Border Between Two Epochs in the Development of Mankind].

Photomontage. 1924.

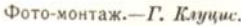


Figure 28.

Gustavs Klucis.

Untitled. Photomontage. 1924.



Figure 29.

Anonymous.

Christ in Majesty. Icon. 15th century.



Figure 30.

Gustavs Klucis.

Sport. Photomontage, 1922.

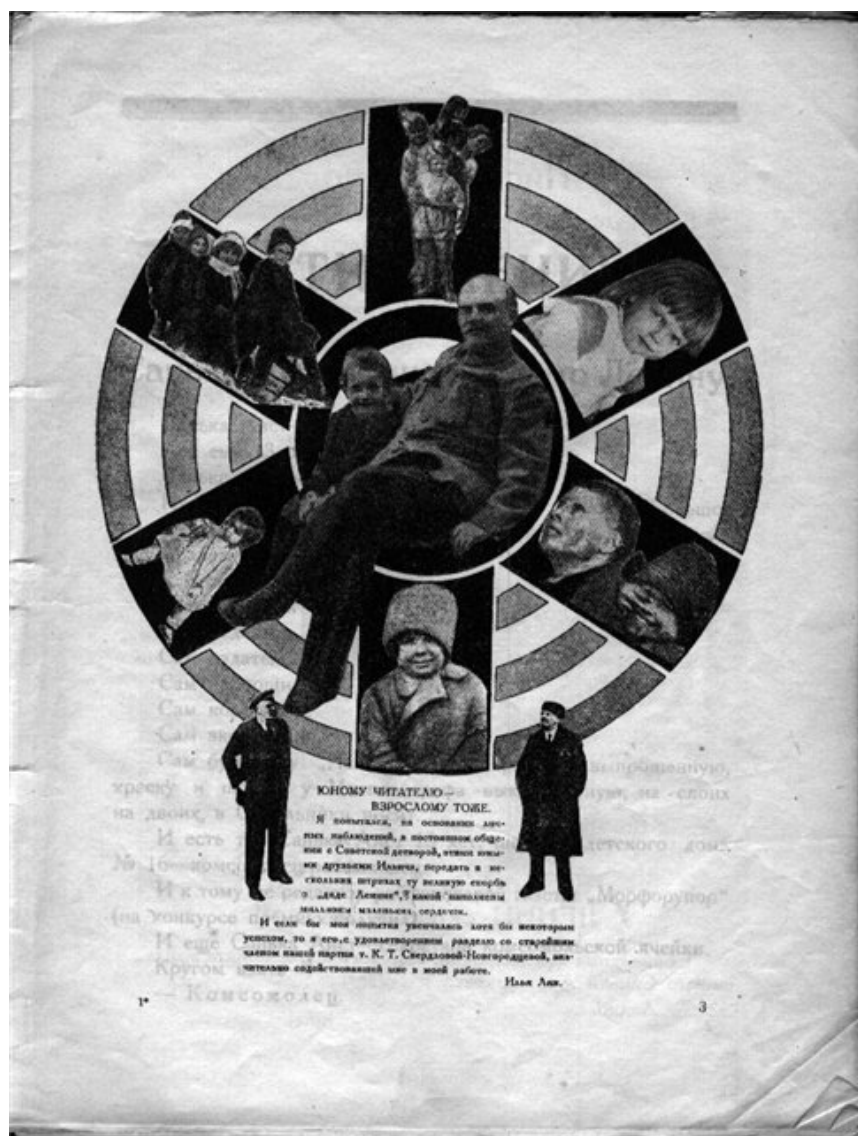


Figure 31.

Gustavs Klucis, Sergei Sen'kin.

Untitled. Photomontage. 1924.



Figure 32.

Gustavs Klucis, Sergei Sen'kin.

Aktive uchis' [Activists Study!]. Poster. 1927



Figure 33.

Anonymous.

Kalachakra Mandala. Painting. Ca. 1650–1700.



Figure 34.

Anonymous.

The Last Judgment. Icon. 16th century. Detail.



Figure 35.

Gustavs Klucis, Sergei Sen'kin.

Topota potop...[Deluge of tramp...]. Photomontage. 1925.

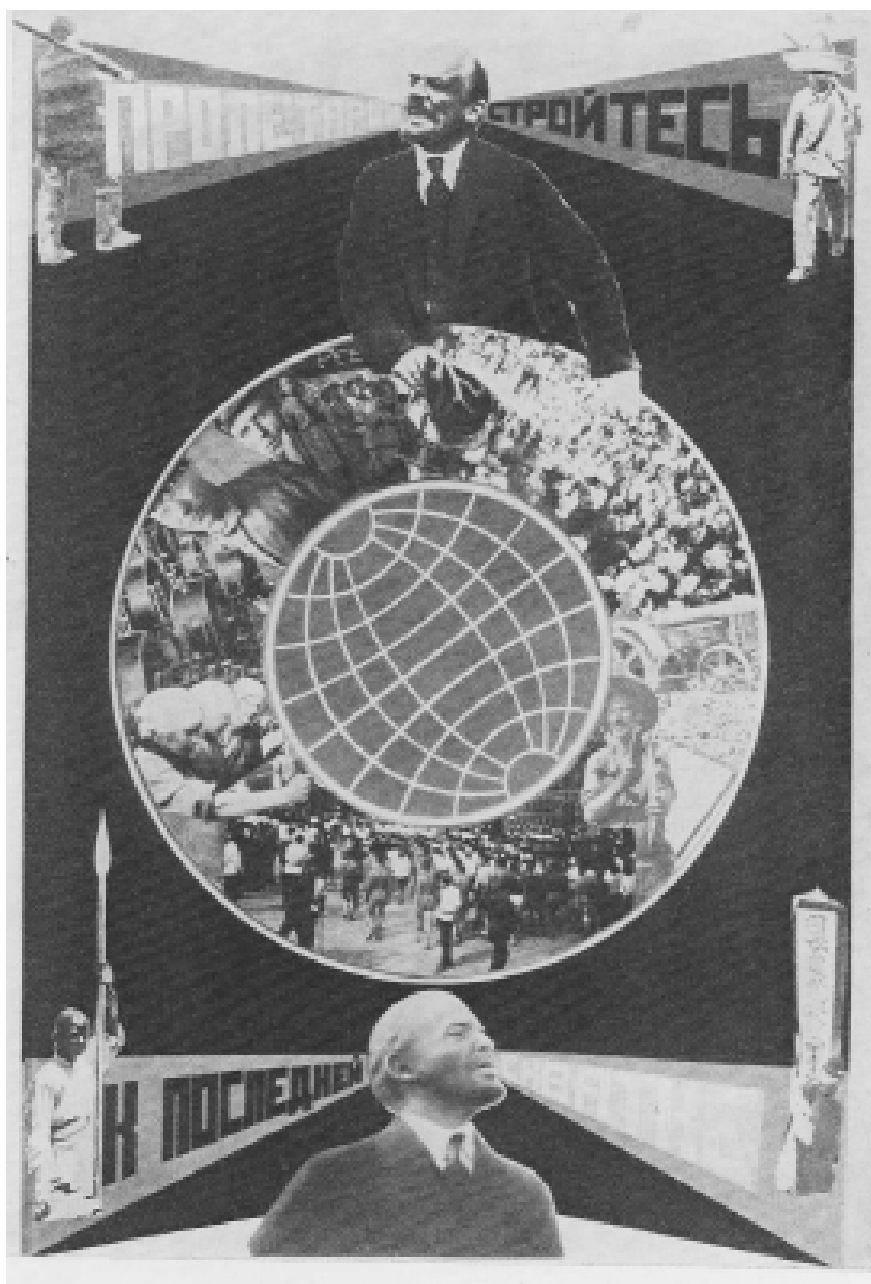


Figure 36.

Gustavs Klucis, Sergei Sen'kin.

Proletarii stroites' k poslednei skhvatke... [*Proletarians, Form Ranks for the Last Battle...*]. Photomontage.

1925.



Figure 37.

Gustavs Klucis, Sergei Sen'kin.

Untitled. Photomontage. 1924.



Figure 38.

Anonymous.

Christ with Angels. Mosaic. Ca. 822.



Figure 39.

Boris Kustodiev.

Bol'shevik[*The Bolshevik*]. Painting.1920.



Figure 40.

Gustavs Klucis.

Vmesto odnogo vstali miliony [Instead of One Person, Millions Will Rise].

Photomontage. 1924.



Figure 41.

Gustavs Klucis, Sergei Sen'kin.

Tvoi obraz budet rukovodiashchei zvezdoi. [Your Image Will Be Our Leading Star].

Photomontage. 1924.



Figure 42.

Isaak Brodsky.

Vystuplenie Lenina pered rabochimi Putilovskogo zavoda v mae 1917 goda.

[Lenin's Speech at a Workers' Meeting at the Putilovsky Plant in May 1917].

Painting, 1929.



Figure 43.

Aleksandr Gerasimov.

Lenin na tribune [Lenin on the Podium]. Painting, 1930.



Figure 44.

Gustavs Klucis, Sergei Sen'kin.

Untitled. Photomontage. 1925.



Figure 45.

Gustavs Klucis.

Untitled. Photomontage, 1929.



Figure 46.

Anonymous.

Teper' v Londone stoit stavuya Washingtona. Zavtra v N'yu Iorke budet stoyat' statuya Lenina [Now in London there Is a Statue of Washington. Tomorrow in New York there Will Be a Statue of Lenin].

Photomontage, 1931.



Figure 47.

El Lissitzky, Sergei Senkin.

Untitled. Photo-fresco, 1928.

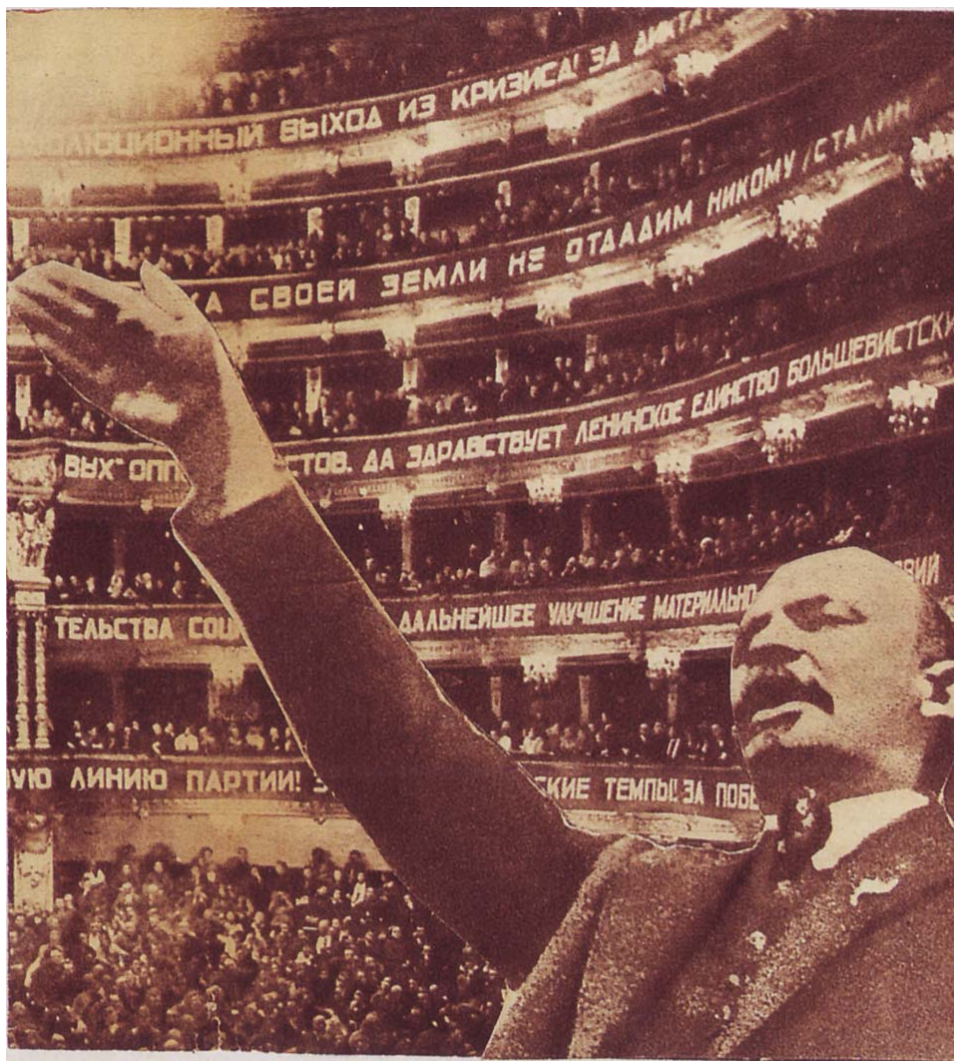


Figure 48.

Anonymous.

Untitled. Photomontage, 1930s.

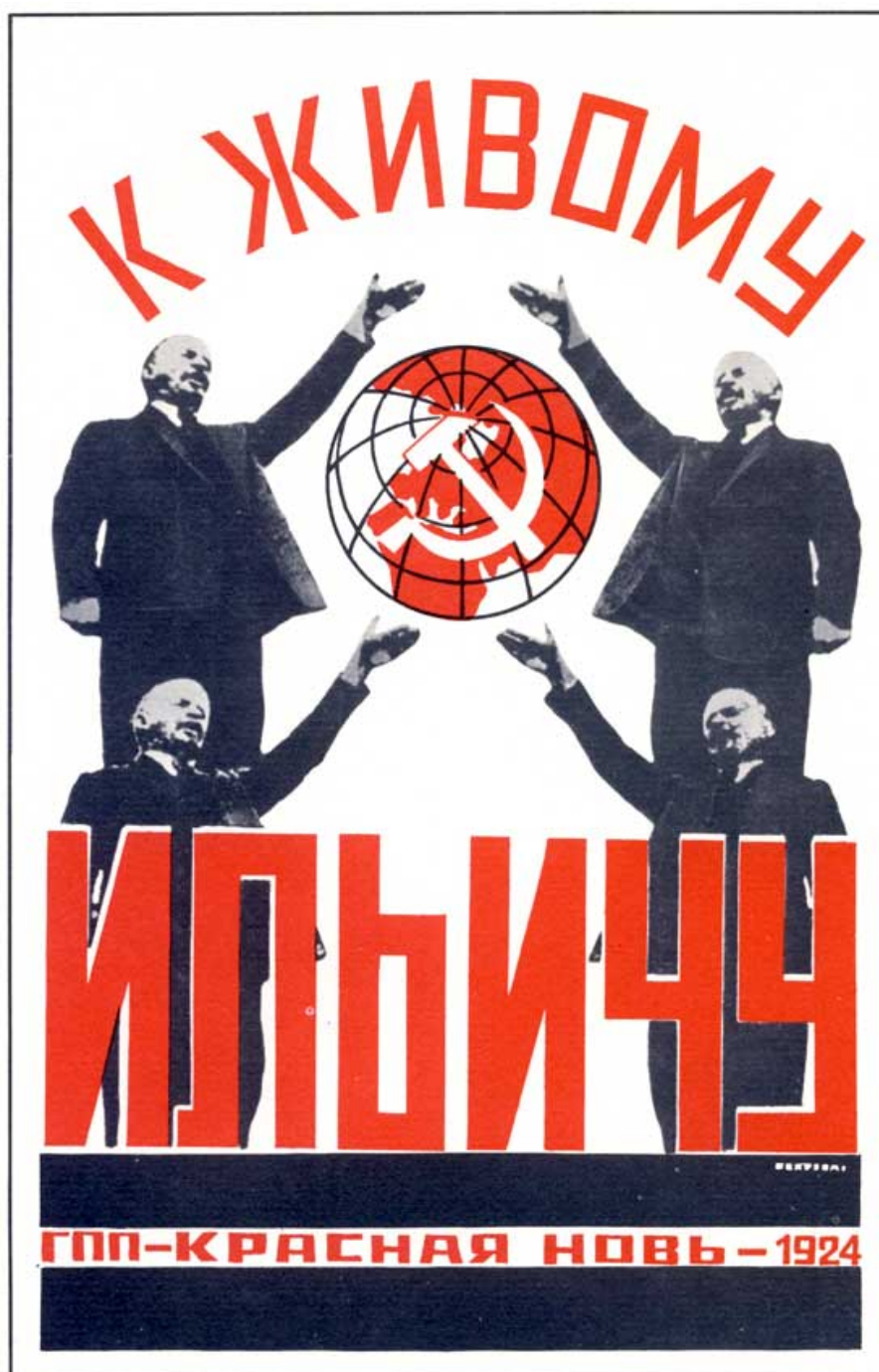


Figure 49.

Aleksandr Rodchenko

Cover design. Photomontage. 1924.



Figure 50.

Gustavs Klucis.

Design of the poster display. Photomontage, 1931.

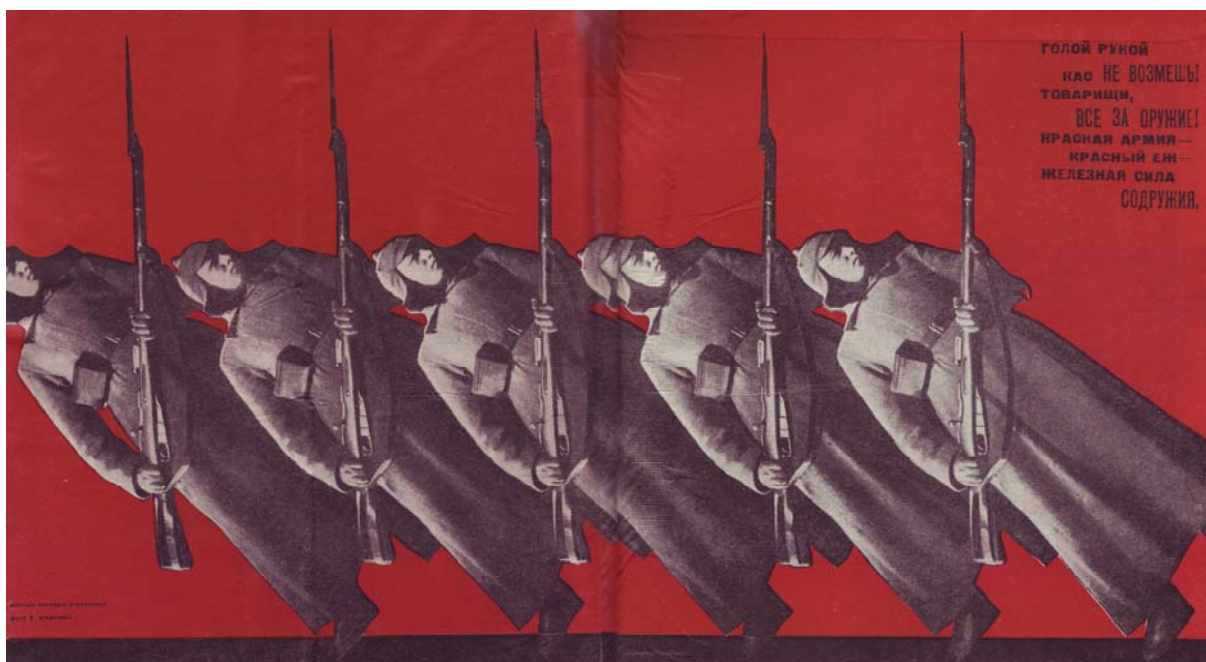


Figure 51.

Varvara Stepanova.

Design of end-leaf. Photomontage, 1932.

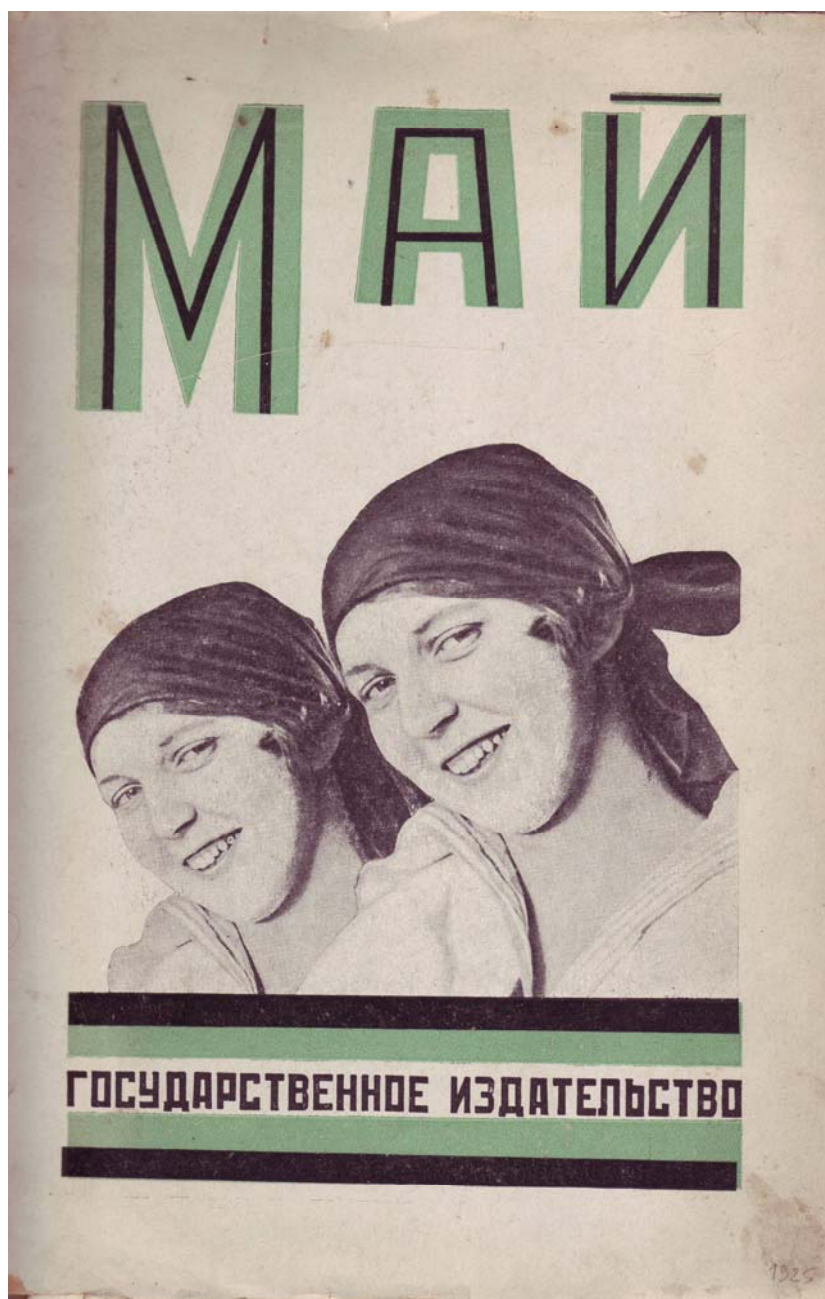


Figure 52.

Mechislav Dorokhovskiy

Cover design. Photomontage, 1925.



Figure 53.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Cover design. Photomontage. 1927.

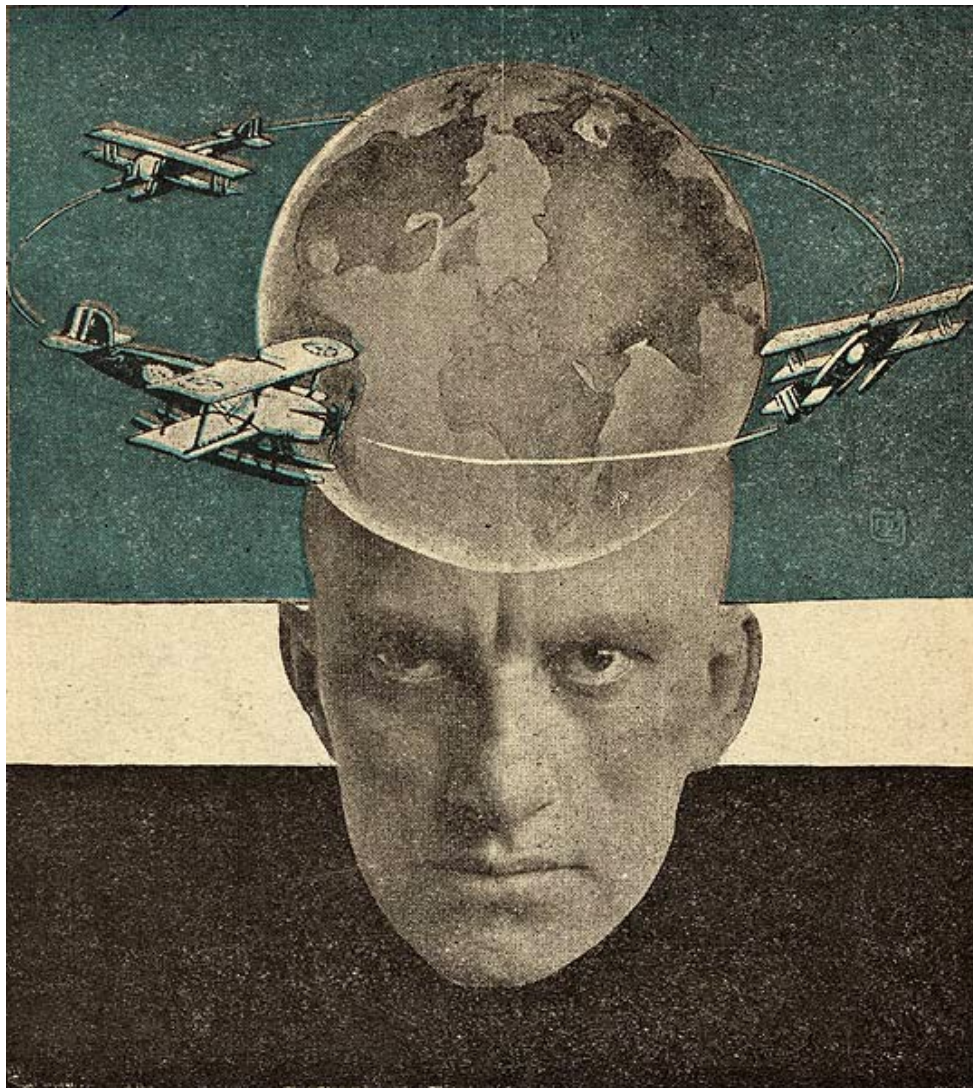


Figure 54.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Back cover design. Photomontage. 1927.



Figure 55.

Gustavs Klucis.

1 maiya den' mezhdunarodnoi proletrskoi solidarnosti. [The First of May, Day of the International Proletarian Solidarity]. Poster. 1930.



Figure 56.

Gustavs Klucis.

Na shturm 3go goda pyatiletki. [To the Storm of the 3rd Year of the Five-Year Plan].

Poster. 1930.



Figure 57.

Gustavs Klucis.

Vernem ugol'nyi dolg strane. [We Will Return the Coal Debt to the Country].

Poster. 1930.



Figure 58.

Gustavs Klucis.

Da zdravstvuet SSSR otechestvo trudyashchikhsya vsego mira. [Long Live the USSR, the Motherland of Working People of the Whole World]. Poster. 1931.



Figure 59.

Gustavs Klucis.

СССР – ударная бригада мирового пролетариата.

[*The USSR is the Shock Brigade of the World Proletariat*]. Poster. 1931.



Figure 60.

Gustavs Klucis.

Dadim million kvalifitsirovannykh rabochikh kadrov dlya novykh 518 fabrik i zavodov [Let's Provide Millions of Qualified Workers for the 518 New Factories and Plants]. Poster. 1931.



Figure 61.

El Lissitzky, Sergei Senkin.

Untitled. Photo-fresco, 1928.



Figure 62.

Gustavs Klucis.

Decoration of the Sverdlov Square in Moscow for 1 May 1932. Photograph. 1932.



Figure 63.

Mikhail Razulevich.

Real'nost nashei programmy eto zhivye ludi. [*The Greatness of Our Programme Is Living People*].

Montage-picture, 1932.

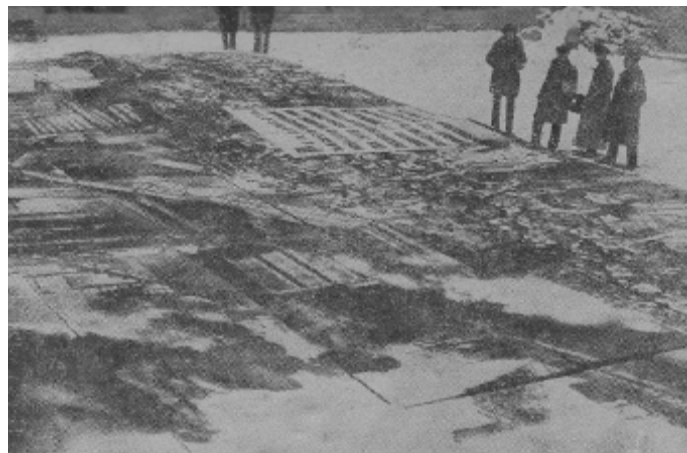


Figure 64.

Anonymous.

Montage of the photographic picture 'The Greatness of Our Programme Is Living People'.

Photograph. 1932.



Figure 65.

Gustavs Klucis.

Real'nost' nashei programmy – eto zhivye ludi. [The Greatness of Our Programme Is Living People].

Poster, 1931.



Figure 66.

Amateur photographic circle of the collective farm the *Free Ploughman*.

Produktsiyu kolkhoza gosudarstvy [Give the Produce of the Collective Farm to the State].
Photomontaged wall newspaper. 1930.

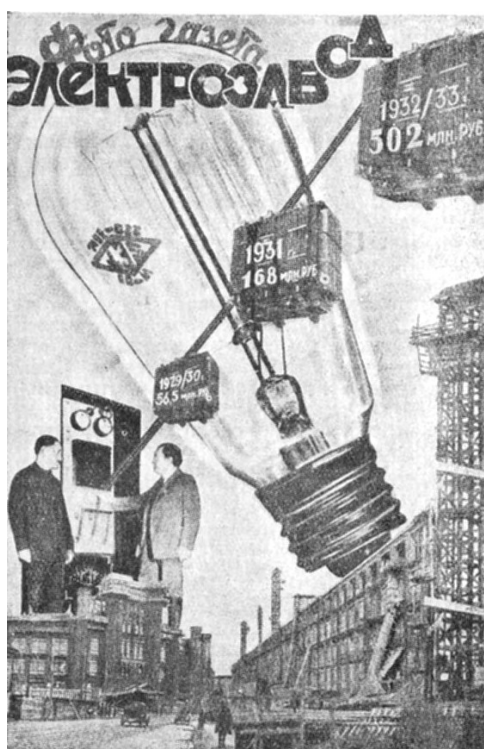


Figure 67.

Amateur photographic circle of the the Moscow Electric Factory.

Foto-gazeta Elektrozavod. Photomontaged newspaper, 1930.



Figure 68.

Anonymous.

Opytnaya masterskaia. [Experimental Workshop]. Photomontage, postcard, 1930s.



Figure 69.

Gustavs Klucis.

Vypolnim plan velikih rabot [We Will Fulfill the Plan of Great Works].

Poster. 1930.



Figure 70.

Gustavs Klucis.

Rabochie i rabotnitsy, vse na perevybory Sovetov [Workers and Working Women! Everybody Take Part in the Re-Election of the Soviets]. Poster. 1930.



Figure 71.

М. В.

Proletarskaia rat', idi Sovetui vuibirat! [Proletarian Forces Go to Elect the Soviets!]

Poster. 1927.

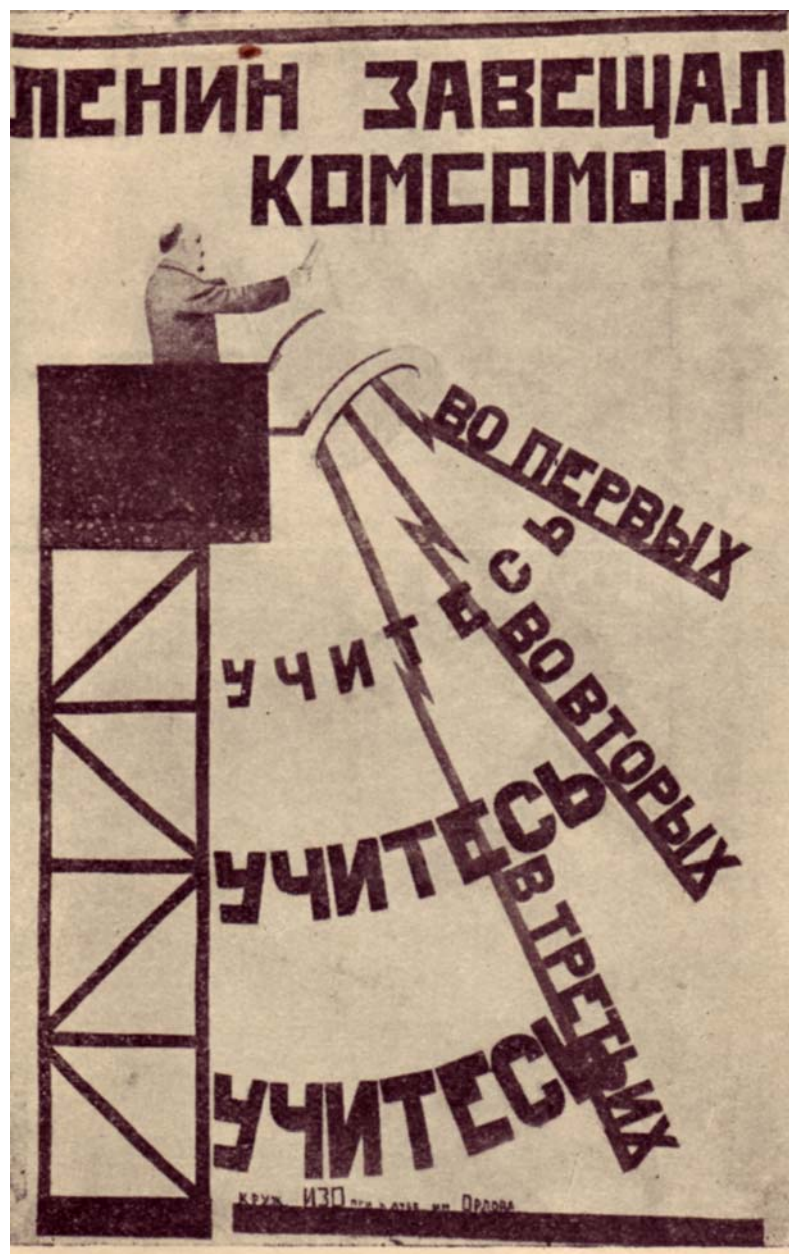
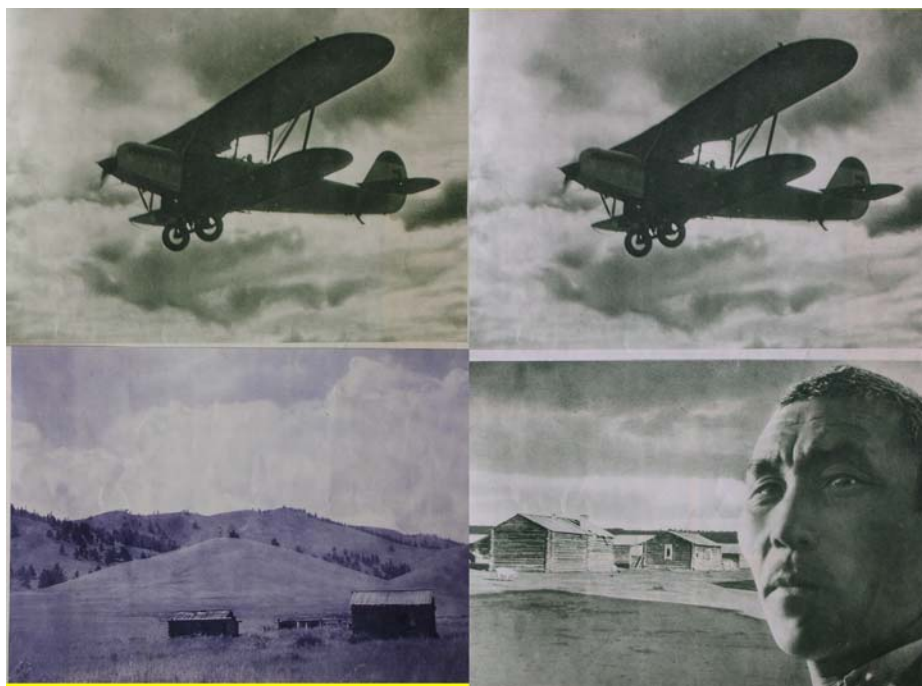


Figure 72.

Visual Arts Group of the Orlov Club.

Lenin zavesshchal komsomolu: vo pervykh uchites

[*Lenin Instructed Komsomol: in the First Instance Study*], Poster. Undated.



Figures 73-74

Nikolai Troshin.

Combination of one full page and four half pages. Magazine layout. 1933.



Figure 75.

Gustav Klucis.

Molodezh', na samolety [Youth, Board Aeroplanes]. Poster. 1934.

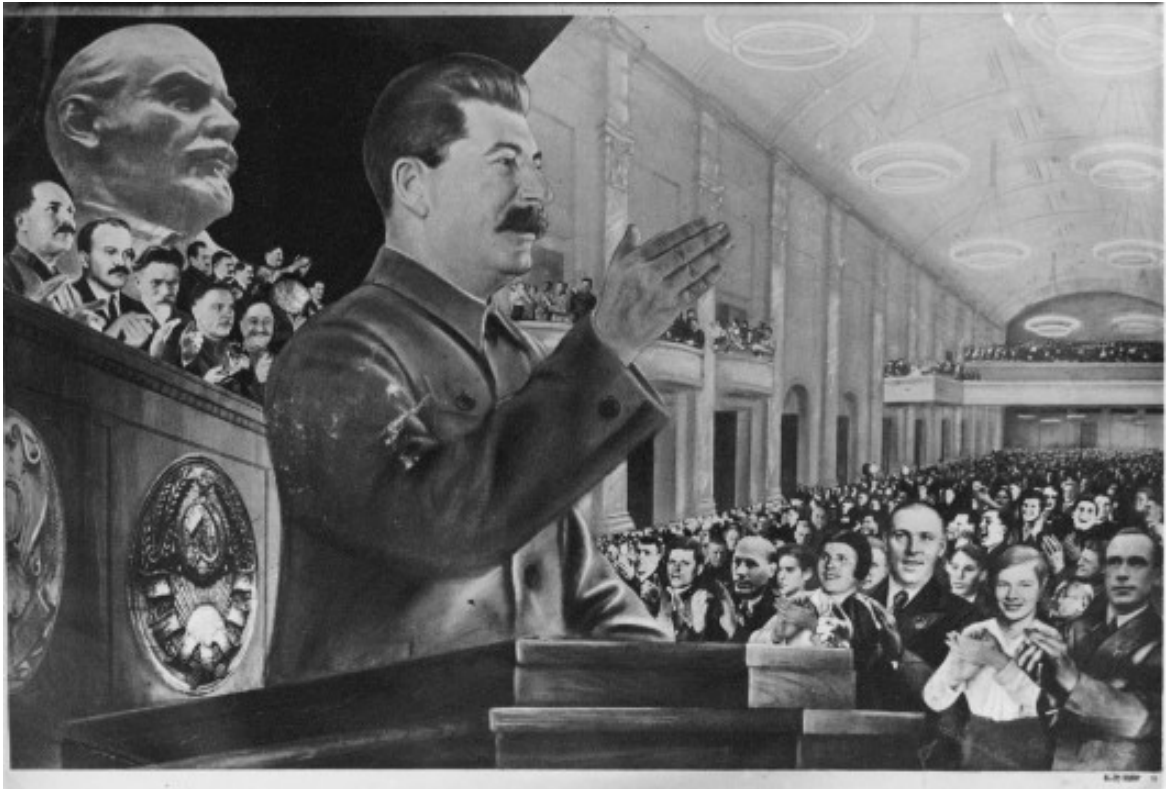


Figure 76.

Gustavs Klucis.

Stalin.

Photomontage. 1935.



Figure 78.

Gustavs Klucis.

Untitled. Photograph. 1935.

Chapter 2.

Competing with Cinema.



Figure 79.

Brigade of Soyuzfoto.

24 Stunden aus dem Leben einer Moskauer Arbeiterfamilie. Photograph, 1931.



Figure 80.

Brigade of Soyuzfoto.

Den' moskovskoi rabochei sem'i [Day in life of a Moscow worker's family].

Photomontage. 1931.



Figure 81.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

AMO. Photomontage. 1929.



Figure 82.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

AMO. Photomontage. 1929.

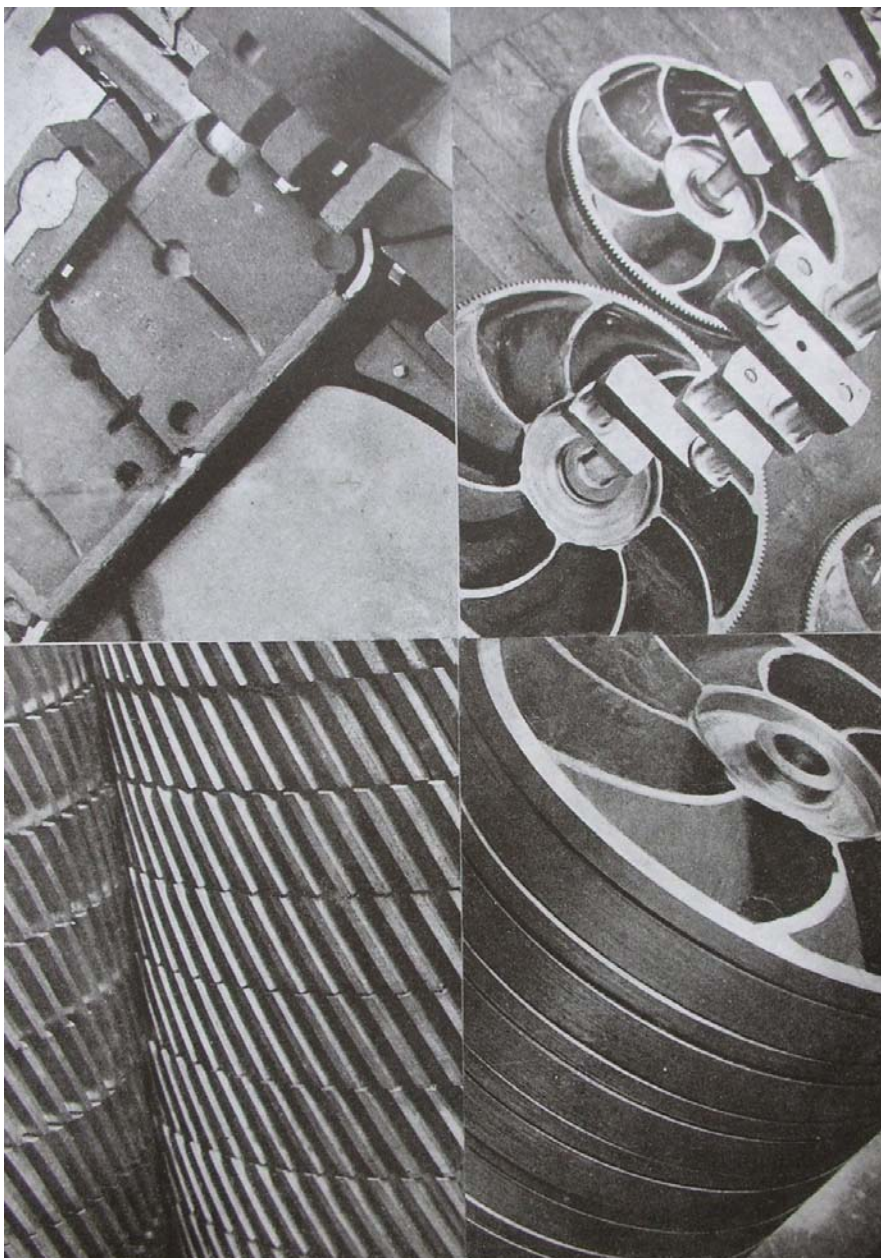


Figure 83.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

AMO. Photomontage. 1929.



Figure 84.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Untitled. Photomontage. 1929.



Figure 85.

Boris Ignatovich.

Kurinyi zavod OGPU. [The Chicken Factory of the OGPU]. Photo-story. 1929.



Figure 86.

Dmitry Debabov.

Daesh' provoda [*Give Wire*], Photo-story, 1929.

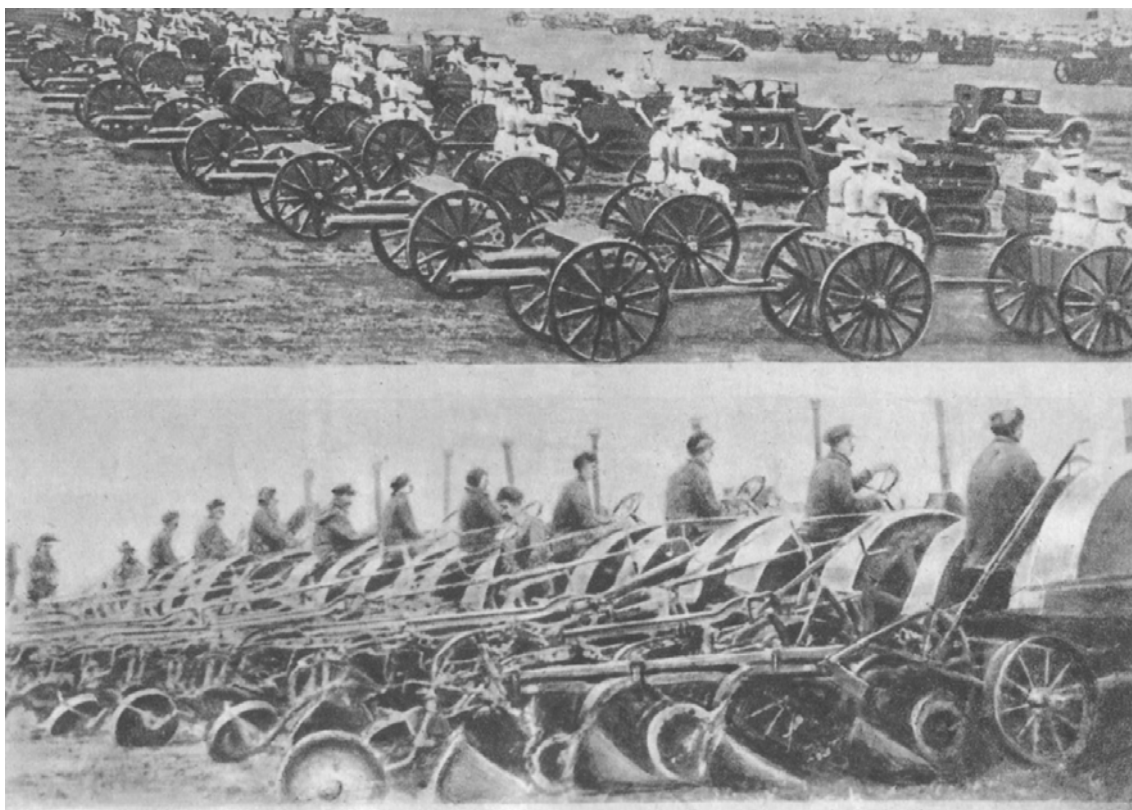


Figure 87.

Brigade of Soyuzfoto.

U nikh i u nas. Traktora na polyakh [Theirs and Ours: Tractors in the Fields].

Photomontage. 1932.



Figure 88.

Brigade of Soyuzfoto.

U nikh i u nas. U zavodskikh vorot [Theirs and Ours: At the Factory Gates].

Photomontage. 1932.



Figure 89.

Brigade of Soyuzfoto.

U nikh i u nas. Obshchestvennoe pitanie detei [Theirs and Ours: The Food Service for Children].

Photomontage. 1932.



Figure 12.

Brigade of Soyuzfoto.

U nikh i u nas. Khozyain ulitsy [Theirs and Ours: The Master of the Street].

Photomontage. 1932.



Figure 91.

Maks Al'pert.

Bandaged finger of worker Kalmykov featured in the photo-series of Maks Al'pert.

Photo-series *Gigant i stroitel'*. 1932.



Figure 92.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Na telephone [*Answering the Telephone*]. Photograph. 1928.

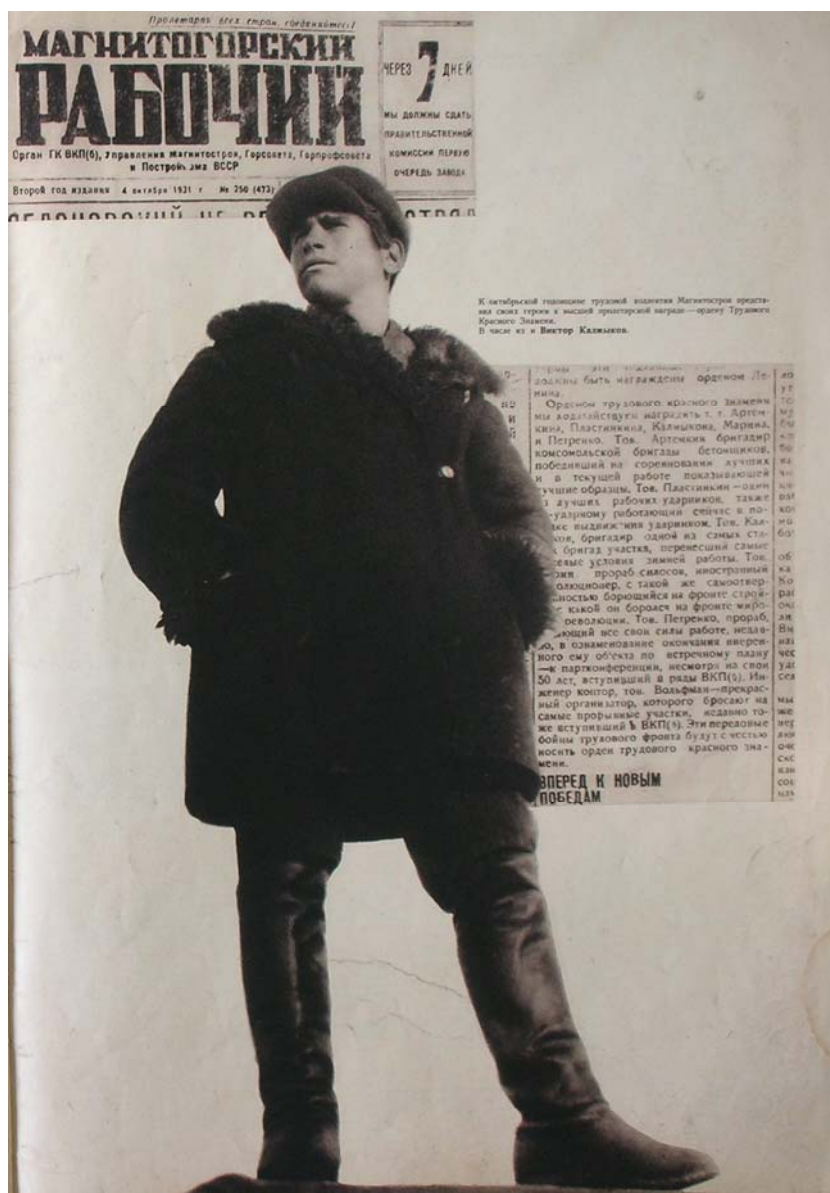


Figure 94.

Maks Al'pert.

Gigant i stroitel' [The Giant and the Builder]. Photomontage. 1932.



Figure 95.

Maks Al'pert.

Gigant i stroitel' [*The Giant and the Builder*]. Photomontage. 1932.



Figure 97.

Maks Al'pert.

Gigant i stroitel' [The Giant and the Builder]. Photomontage. 1932.



Figure 99.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Belomoro-Baltiiskii kanal imeni tovarischa Stalina [The White Sea-Baltic Canal Named after Comrade Stalin]. Photomontage. 1933.



Figure 100.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Belomoro-Baltiiskii kanal imeni tovarischa Stalina [The White Sea-Baltic Canal Named after Comrade Stalin]. Photomontage. Two-page spread. 1933.



Figure 101.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Belomoro-Baltiiskii kanal imeni tovarischa Stalina [*The White Sea-Baltic Canal Named after Comrade Stalin*]. Photomontage. Two-page spread. 1933.



Figure 102.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Belomoro-Baltiiskii kanal imeni tovarischa Stalina [*The White Sea-Baltic Canal Named after Comrade Stalin*]. Photomontage. 1933.

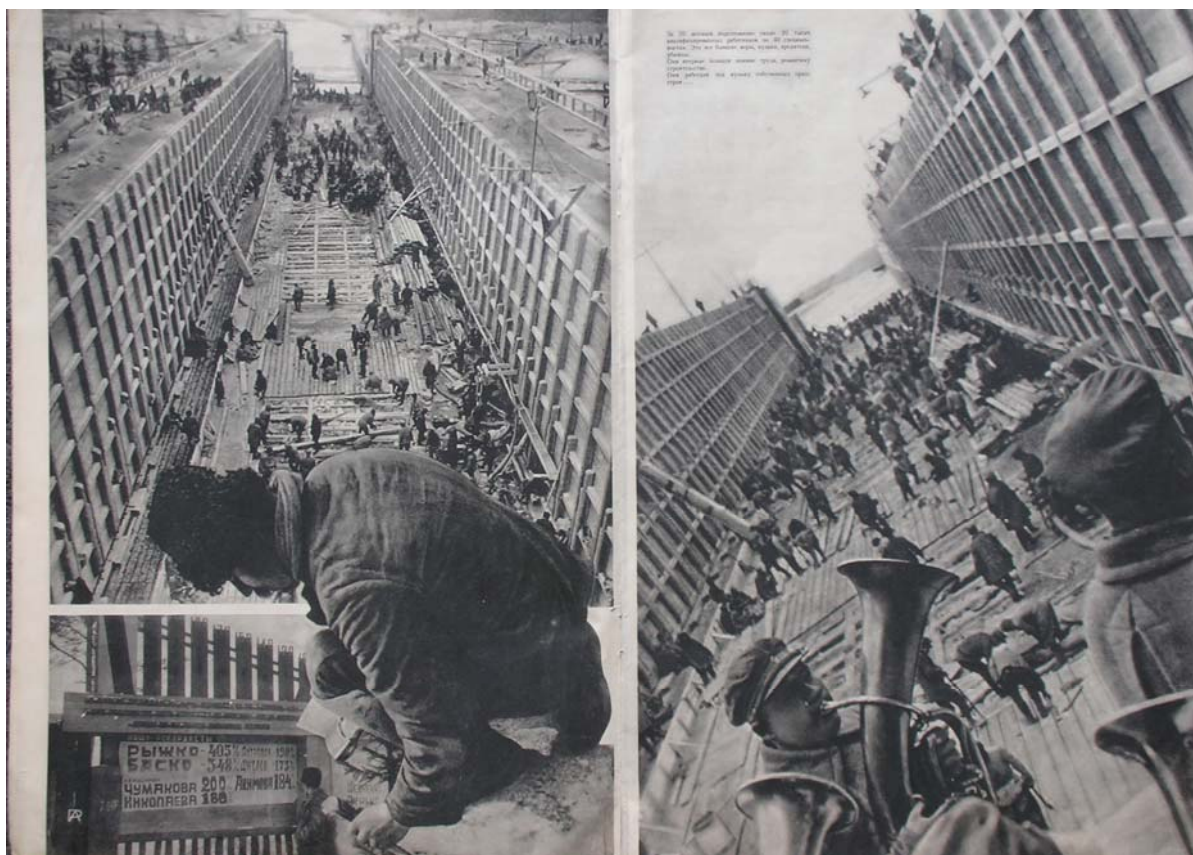


Figure 103.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Belomoro-Baltiiskii kanal imeni tovarisha Stalina [*The White Sea-Baltic Canal Named after Comrade Stalin*]. Photomontage. Two-page spread. 1933.

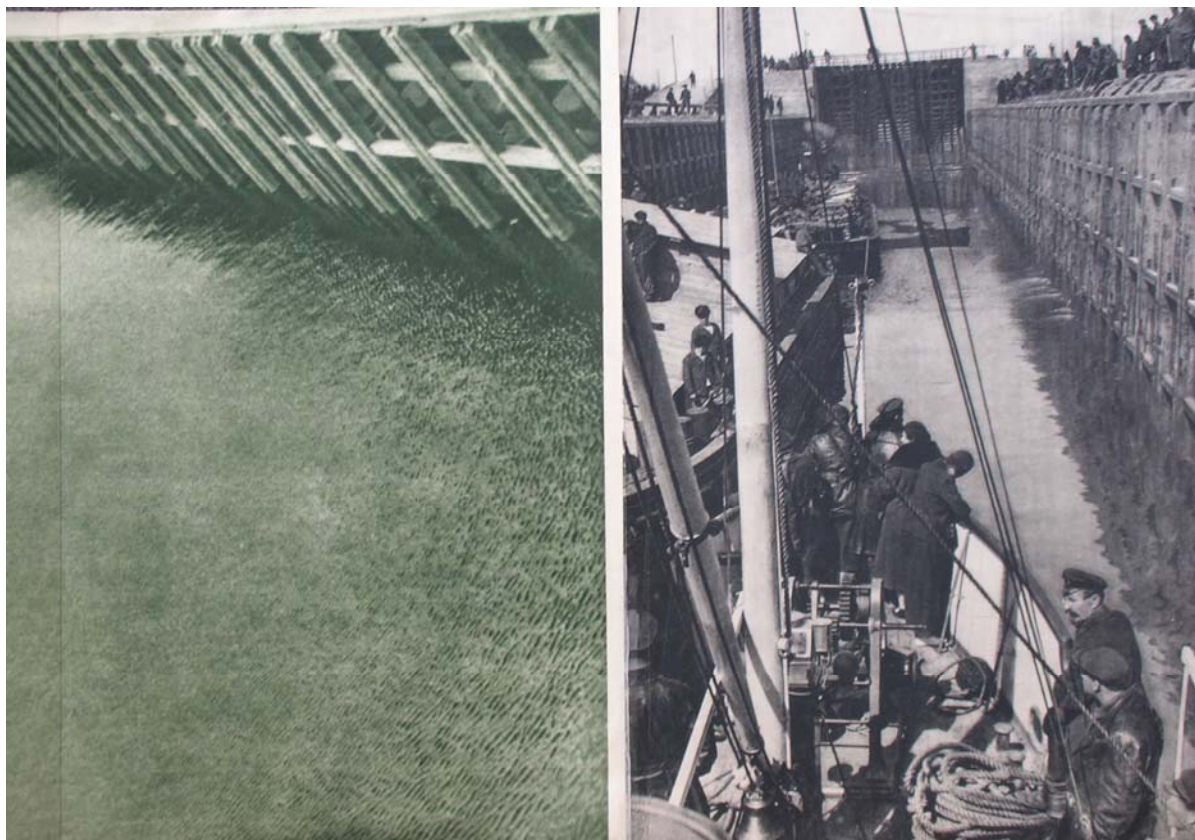


Figure 104.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Belomoro-Baltiiskii kanal imeni tovarischa Stalina [*The White Sea-Baltic Canal Named after Comrade Stalin*]. Photomontage. Two-page opening. 1933.

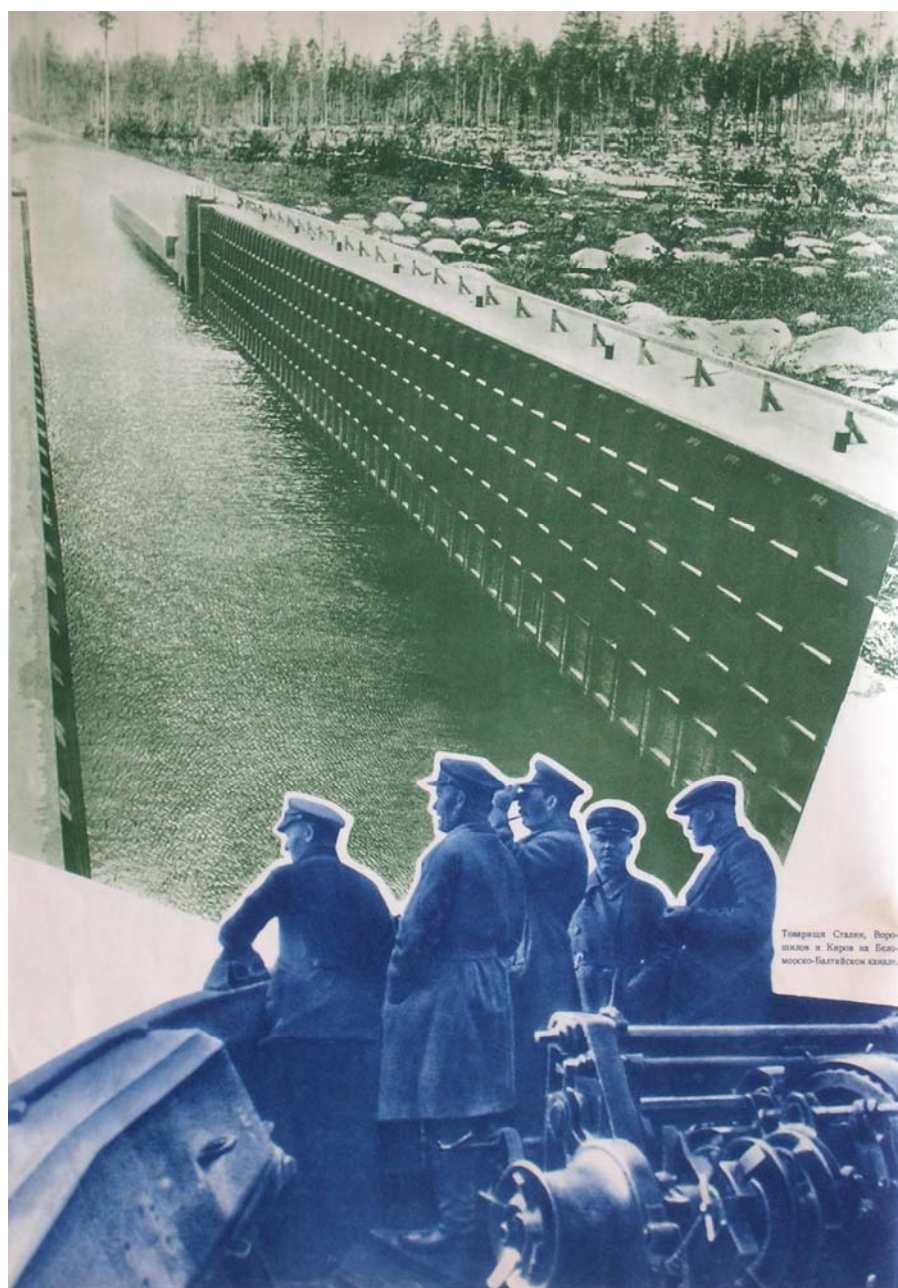


Figure 105.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Belomoro-Baltiiskii kanal imeni tovarischa Stalina [*The White Sea-Baltic Canal Named after Comrade Stalin*], Photomontage. 1933.

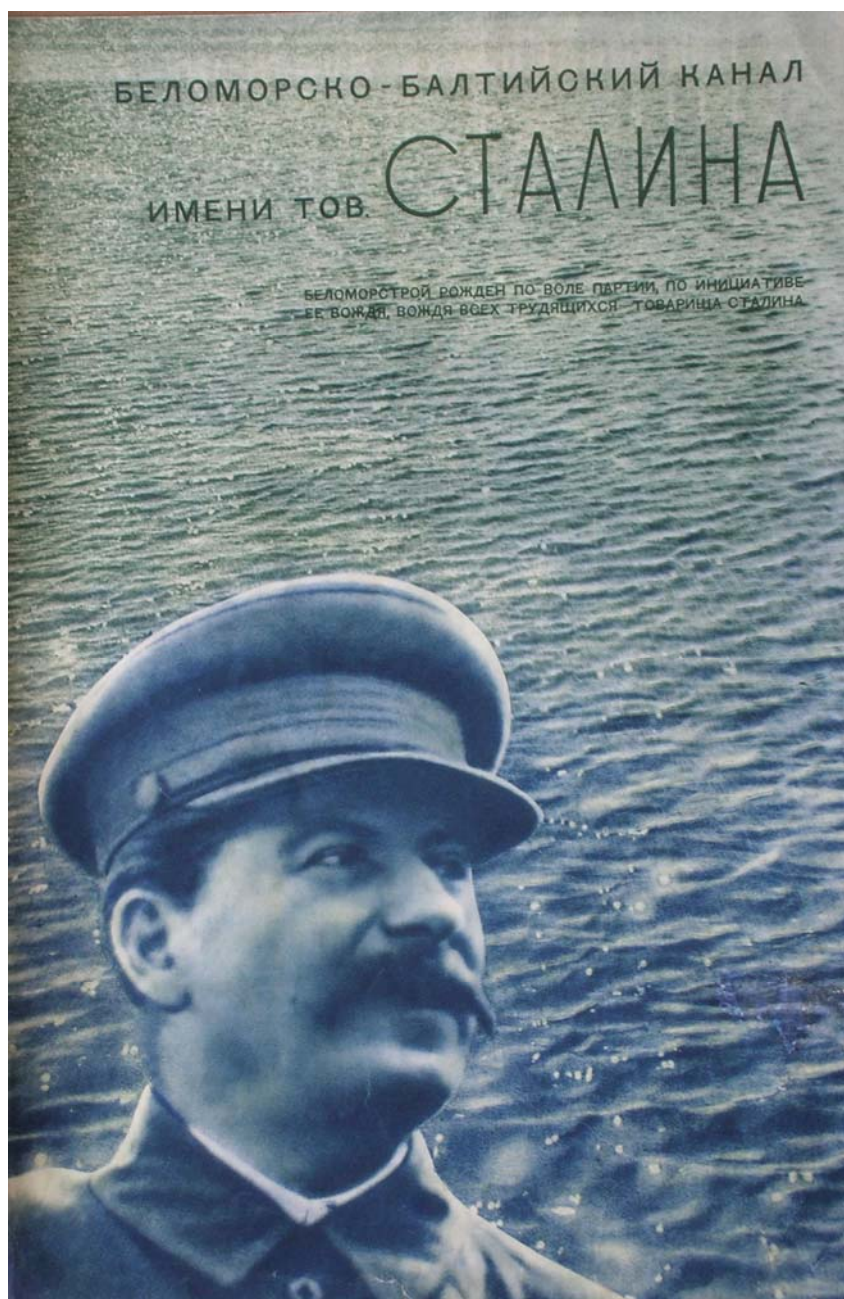


Figure 106.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Belomoro-Baltiiskii kanal imeni tovarischa Stalina [*The White Sea-Baltic Canal Named after Comrade Stalin*]. Photomontage. 1933.

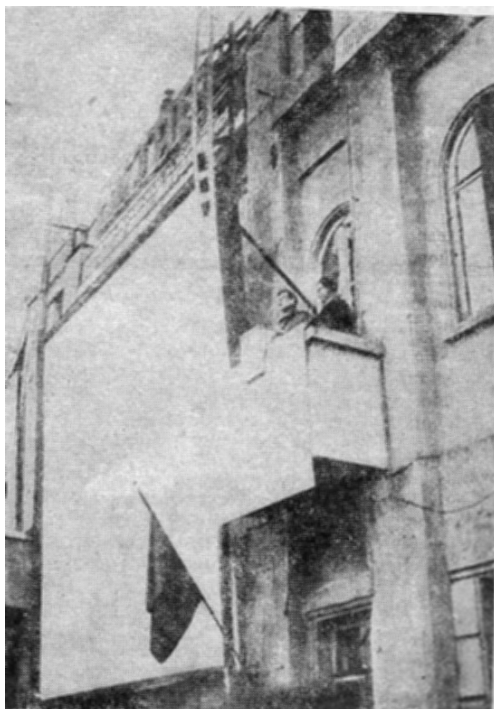


Figure 107.

Screen for projection of photographic films installed on the façade of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk City Council. Photograph. 1932.

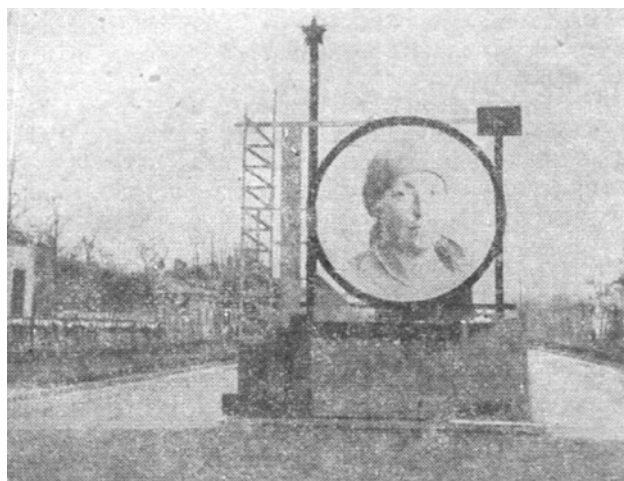


Figure 108.

One of light- boxes for demonstration of photographic films installed in Ivanovo-Voznesensk.

Photograph. 1932.



Figure 109.

Photo-studio of the House of Red Army and Fleet of Kronstadt.

Fragments of the light newspaper. Photograph. 1929.

Chapter 3.

Photomontage as a Photographic Picture.



Figure 110.

KGK Brigade.

Da zdravstvuet mezhdunarodnyi den' rabotnits 8 Marta. [Long Live the International Day of Working

Women 8th of March]. Poster. 1930.



Figure 111.

Anonymous.

Calendar icon. Icon. 19th century.



Figure 112.

Viktor Koretsky and Vera Gitsevich.

Profsoiuzy SSSR peredovoi otryad mirovogo rabochego dvizheniya [The Trade Unions of the USSR Are the Advanced Detachment of the International Workers' Movement]. Poster. 1932.



Figure 113.

KGK Brigade.

Delegatka, bud' vpered! [Woman-Delegate, Be in Advance!]

Poster. 1931.



Figure 114.

Gustavs Klucis.

SSSR – udarnaya brigada mirovogo proletariata[*The USSR Is the Shock-brigade of the World Proletariat*]. Poster. 1930.



Figure 115.

Brigada KGK.

Dadim suir'e sotsiaisticheskoi promuishlennosti [Let's Give Raw Materials to Socialist Industry].

Poster. 1931.



Figure 116.

Viktor Koretsky.

Eto est' nash posledny i reshitel'nyy boy [*It Is Our Last and Decisive Battle*].

Poster. 1936.



Figure 117.

Gustavs Klucis.

Na shturm 3-go goda pyatiletki [To the Storm of the 3rd Year of the Five-Year Plan].

Poster. 1930.



Figure 118.

Gustavs Klucis and Sergei Sen'kin.

Cover design. Photomontage. 1927



Figure 119.

Gustavs Klucis.

Da zdravstvuet SSSR otechestvo trudyashchikhsya vsego mira [*Long Live the Soviet Union – the Fatherland of the World Proletariat*]. Poster, 1931.



Figure 120.

John Heartfield.

Die Rote Einheit [The Red Unity]. Photomontage.1932.



Figure 121.

Viktor Koretsky.

Sovetskie fizkul'turniki – gordost' nashei strany [*Soviet Sportsmen Are the Pride of Our Country*].

Poster. 1935.



Figure 122.

Viktor Koretsky.

Za shchastlivuyu yunnost' [*For a Happy Youth*]. Photomontage. 1935

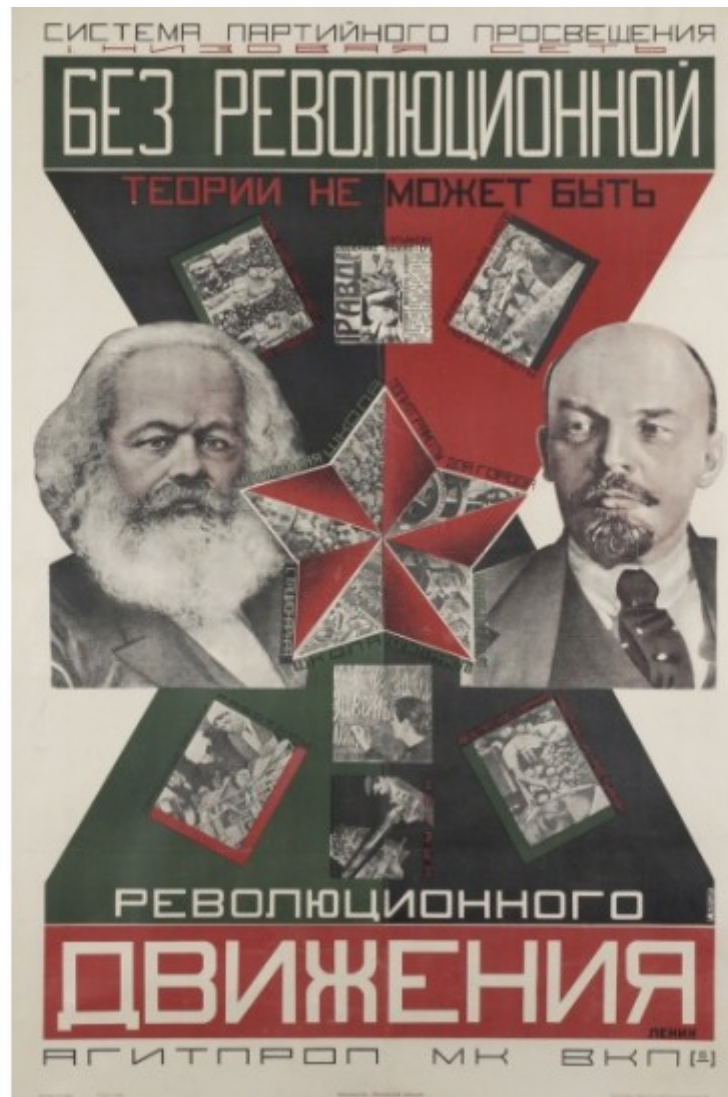


Figure 123.

Gustavs Klucis.

Bez revolutsionnoi teorii ne mozhет byt' revolutsionogo dvizheniya. [The Revolutionary Movement Is Impossible without Revolutionary Theory]. Poster. 1927.



Figure 124.

Viktor Koretsky.

Let do sta rasti nam bez starost [We Will Grow without Becoming Old until We Are a Hundred Years Old].

Photomontage. 1938.



Figure 125.

Viktor Koretsky.

Da zdravstvuet Leninsko-Stalinsky komsomol – shef voenno-morskogo flota SSSR . [Long Live the Leninist-Stalinist Young Communist League, the Patron of the USSR's Navy]. Poster. 1939.



Figure 126.

Anonymous.

Virgin of the Unburnt Bush. Icon. 16th century.

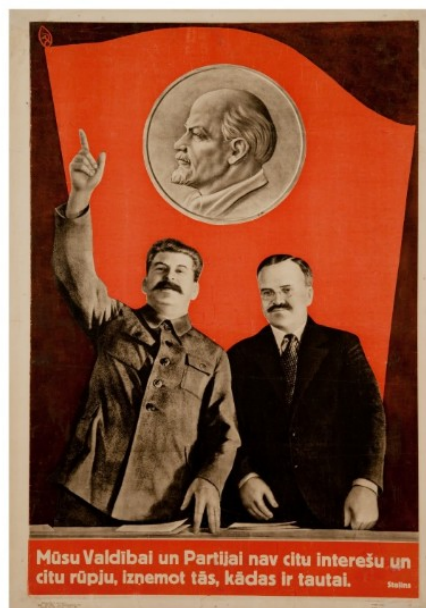


Figure 127.

Viktor Koretsky.

Mūs Valdībai un Partijai [*We, the Government and the Party*]. Poster. 1939.

Figure 128.

Anonymous.

Holy Trinity. Icon, 17th century.



Figure 129.

Viktor Koretsky.

Kolkhozniki, rabotniki MTS i sovkhovov ravnyaites' po peredovikam [Collective Farmers, Workers of MTS, Follow the Example of the Shock Workers]. Poster. 1939.



Figure 130.

Harrison Forman.

Pavilion of Mechanization. Photograph. 1939.



Figure 131.

Ivan Shagin.

Pavilion of Mechanization. Photograph. 1939.



Figure 132.

John Heartfield.

Lenin. Photomontage. 1932

Figure 133.

Gustav Klucis.

Kommunizm – eto sovetskaya vlast' plus elektrifikatsiya vsei strany. [Communism Is Soviet Power Plus the Electrification of the Entire Country].

Poster. 1928.



Figure 134.

Gustavs Klucis.

Pod znamenem Lenina za sotsialisticheskoe stroitel'stvo. [Building Socialism under the Banner of Lenin].

Poster. 1930.

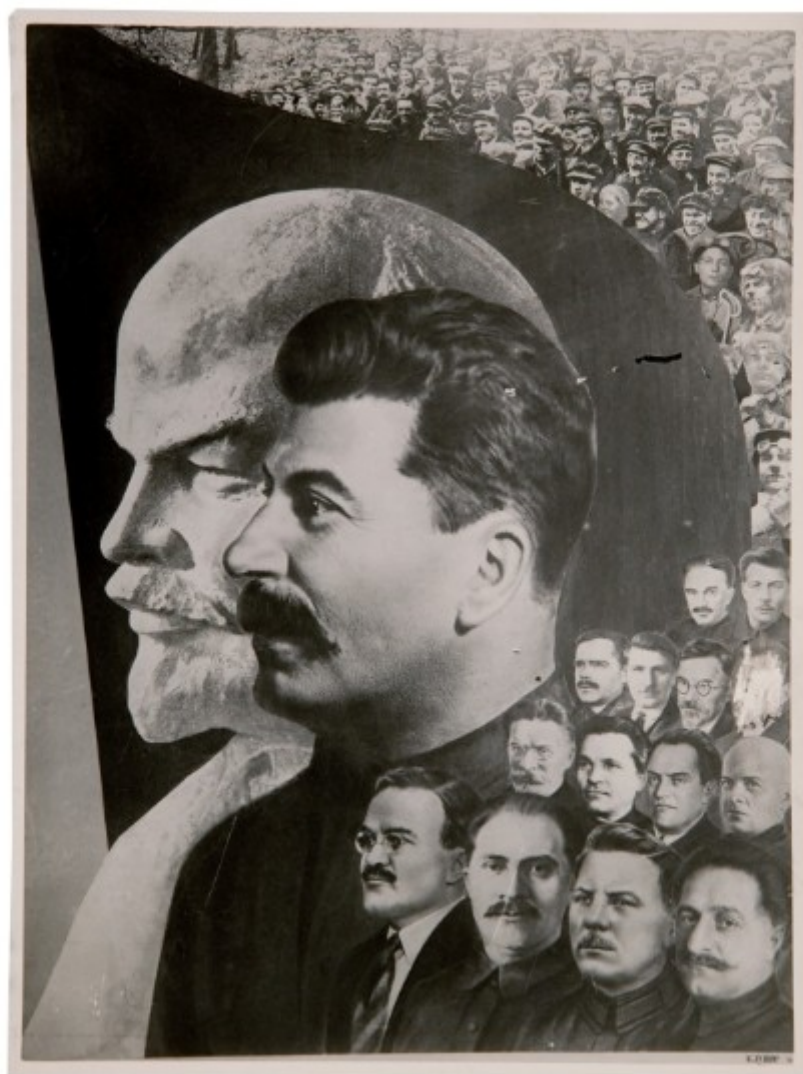


Figure 135.

Gustavs Klucis.

Untitled. Photomontage. 1933.



Figure 136.

Viktor Koretsky.

Stalin – znamya sovetskikh letchikov [Stalin Is the Banner for Soviet Pilots].

Photomontage. 1938.



Figure 137.

Viktor Koretsky.

Da zdravstvuet 1-go Maya. [Long Live the 1st of May].

Photomontage. 1940.



Figure 138.

Viktor Koretsky.

Da zdravstvuet 1-go Maya. [Long Live the 1st of May].

Photomontage, 1941.



Figure 139.

Viktor Koretsky.

Udarniki v boi za chugun, stal', prokat [Shock Workers, Go into Battle for Cast Metal, Steel, and Rolling Stock]. Poster. 1933.



Figure 140.

Viktor Koretsky.

Bud' gotov k sanitarnoi oborone SSSR [Be Ready for the Medical Defence of the USSR].

Photomontage. 1938.



Figure 141.

Viktor Koretsky.

Esli zavtra voina [If War Comes Tomorrow].

Poster. 1938.



Figure 142.

Viktor Koretsky.

Nasha armiya eto armiya osvobozhdeniya trudishchikhsya [Our Army Is the Army for the Liberation of Working People]. Photomontage. 1938.



Figure 143.

Viktor Koretsky.

Nasha armiya eto armiya osvobozhdeniya trudishchikhsya [Our Army Is the Army for the Liberation of Working People]. Photomontage. 1939.



Figure 144.

Viktor Koretsky.

Nasha armiya eto armiya osvobozhdeniya trudishchikhsya [Our Army Is the Army for the Liberation of Working People].

Photomontage. 1940.



Figure 145.

Viktor Koretsky.

Slava Krasnoi Armii – osvoboditel'nitse narodov Bessarabii i Severnoi Bukoviny! [*Glory to the Red Army, the Liberator of the People of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina!*]

Poster. 1940.



Figure 146.

Mikhal Solov'ev

Okno TASS No 1092. Privet Yugoslavskomu narodu! [TASS Window No 1092. Greetings to the People of Yugoslavia!]

Stenciled poster. 1944.



Figure 147.

Mikhal Solov'ev

*Okno TASS No 1044. Slava osvoboditelyam Kishineva! [TASS Wndow No 1044. Glory to the
Liberators of Kishinev!]*

Stenciled poster. 1944.



Figure 148.

Vladimir Milashevsky.

Okno TASS No 1058. Tallin osvobozhden! [TASS Window No 1058. Tallinn is Liberated!]

Stenciled poster. 1944.



Figure 149.

Viktor Koretsky.

Bratsky soyuz nerushim! [*The Brotherly Union is Indissoluble!*]

Photomontage. 1945.



Figure 150.

Iraklii Toidze.

Rodina-mat' zovet! [The Motherland Is Calling!]

Poster. 1941.



Figure 151.

Viktor Koretsky.

Bud' geroem! [Be a Hero!]

Poster. 1941.



Figure 152.

Viktor Koretsky.

Untitled. Photomontage. 1930s.



Figure 153.

Viktor Koretsky.

Narod i armiya nepobedimy! [The People and the Army Are Invincible!]

Photomontage. 1941.



Figure 154.

Viktor Koretsky.

Da zdravstvuyut sovetskie letchiki – vernye syny nashei rodiny! [*Long Live Soviet Pilots, Faithful Sons of Our Motherland!*]

Photomontage. 1940s.



Figure 155.

Viktor Koretsky.

Da zdarvstvuet druzhba narodov Sovetskogo Soyuza i Germanskoi Demokraticheskoi Respubliki!

[Long Live the Friendship of the Peoples of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic!]

Photomontage. 1958.



Figure 156.

Viktor Koretsky.

Nashi sily neischislimy. [Our Forces Are Uncountable].

Poster. 1941.



Figure 157.

Viktor Koretsky.

Privet bortsam protiv fashizma! [Greetings to the Fighters against Fascism!]

Poster. 1937.



Figure 158.

Viktor Koretsky.

Spasi! [*Save Us!*]

Photomontage. 1942.



Figure 159.

Nikolai Zhukov.

Bei nasmert'! [*Beat Them to Death!*]

Poster. 1942.



Figure 160.

Viktor Koretsky.

Boets, spasi menya ot rabstava! [Soldier, Save Me from Slavery!]

Photomontage. 1942.



Figure 161.

Viktor Koretsky.

Boets, spasi etikh rebyat ot golodnoi smerti. Istreblyai nemetskikh razboinikov! [Soldier, Save these Kids from Starvation. Annihilate the German Robbers!]

Poster. 1943.



Figure 162.

Viktor Koretsky.

Smert' detoubiitsam! [*Death to the Infanticides!*]

Photomontage. 1942



Figure 163.

Viktor Koretsky.

Moryak! Izbav' ot gnustnykh gadin rodnuyu devushku tvoyu! [Sailor! Save Your Dear Girl from the Disgusting Vipers!]

Poster, 1943.



Figure 164.

Viktor Deni.

Ubei fashista-izuvera! [Kill the Fascist-Monster!]

Poster. 1942.



Figure 165.

Viktor Ivanov.

Dni i nochi zhdem tebya, boets! [Soldier, We Are Waiting for You Day and Night!]

Poster. 1944.



Figure 166.

Petr Sokolov-Skalya.

Okno TASS No 849/849a. Brat, spasi! [TASS Window No 849/849a. Brother, Save Us!]

Stenciled poster. 1943.



Figure 167.

Petr Sokolov-Skalya.

Okno TASS No 764. Izvergi [TASS Window No 764. Monsters].

Stenciled poster. 1943.



Figure 168.

Kukruiniksui.

Okno TASS No 527. Ubei ego! [TASS Window No 527. Kill Him!]

Stenciled poster. 1942.



Figure 169.

Fedor Antonov.

Okno TASS No 564. Mat' [TASS Window No 564. Mother].

Stenciled poster. 1942.



Figure 170.

Nikolai Khristenko.

Okno TASS No 135. Nemetskie zverstva. [TASS Window No 135. German Brutality].

Panting, 1941.



Figure 171.

Vladimir Goryaev.

Okno TASS No 553. Spasi! [TASS Window No 553. Save Us!].

Stenciled poster. 1942.



Figure 172.

Yury Pimenov, Vladimir Vasil'ev.

Okno TASS No 412. My otomstim [TASS Window No 412. We Will Have Our Revenge].

Stenciled poster. 1942.



Figure 173.

Nikolai Khristenko.

Okno TASS, 22. XI. 41. Smert' fashistskim okupantam! [TASS Window, 22. XI. 41. Death to the German Occupiers!].

Stenciled poster. 1941.



Figure 174.

Pavel Sokolov-Skalya.

*Okno TASS No790. Tesnim vraga! [TASS Window No 790. We Are Putting Pressure on the
Enemy!]*

Stenciled poster. 1943.



Figure 175.

Viktor Koretsky.

Boets, Rodina zhdet etogo dnya! [Soldier, the Motherland Is Waiting for this Day!]

Poster. 1943.



Figure 176.

Viktor Koretsky.

Slava 'Molodoi gvardii' Krasnodona! [Glory to the 'Young Guards' of Krasnodon!].

Poster. 1943.



Figure 177.

Daniil Cherkes.

Okno TASS, 2. I. 42. V Novom godu – k novym pobedom! [TASS Window, 2. I. 42. A New Year - New Victories!] Stenciled poster, 1942.



Figure 178.

François Rude.

La Marseillaise. Relief, 1833-1836.



Figure 179.

Viktor Koretsky.

Novymi pobedami proslavim nashi boevye znamena! [Let's Celebrate Our Battle Banners with New Victories!]

Poster. 1944.



Figure 180.

Viktor Koretsky.

V radostnyi den' osvobozhdeniya iz pod iga nemetskikh zakhvatchikov pervye slova bezgranichnoi blagodarnosti i lyubvi sovetskikh lyudei obrascheny k nashemu drugu i otsu tovarishchu Stalinu – organizatoru nashei bor'by za svobodu i inezavisimost' nashei rodiny. [On the Joyful Day of Liberation from the Yoke of the German Occupiers, We Address the First Words of Limitless Gratitude and Love to Comrade Stalin, Our Friend and Father, the Organizer of Our Struggle for Freedom and the Independence of Our Motherland]. Poster, 1943.



Figure 181.

Viktor Koretsky.

Sovetskie ludi polny blagodarnosti i lubvi k rodnomu Stalinu – velikomu organizatoru nashei pobedy. [The Soviet People Are Overwhelmed with Gratitude and Love for Dear Stalin, the Great Organizer of Our Victory].

Poster. 1945.



Figure 182.

Viktor Koretsky.

Skvoz' grozy siyalo nam solntse svobody,

I Lenin velikiy nam put' ozaril.

Nas vyrastil Stalin – na vernost' narodu,

Na trud i na podvigi nas vdokhnovil.

[Through Days Dark and Stormy where Great Lenin Led Us

Our Eyes Saw the Bright Sun of Freedom above

and Stalin Our leader with Faith in the People,

Inspired us to Build up the Land that We Love].

Poster, 1946.



Figure 183.

Viktor Koretsky.

Untitled. Sketch for a poster. Undated.



Figure 184.

Viktor Koretsky.

Untitled. Retouched photograph. Undated.



Figure 185.

Viktor Koretsky.

Untitled. Retouched photograph. Undated.



Figure 186.

Viktor Koretsky.

Untitled. Photomontage. Undated.



Figure 187.

Viktor Koretsky.

Okno TASS No 487. Druzhinnitsy Krasnogo kresta! Ranennogo i ego oruzhiya ne ostavim na pole boia [TASS Window 487. Members of the Red Cross, We Will not Leave the Wounded and Their Arms on the Battle Field].

Stenciled poster. 1942.



Figure 188.

Viktor Koretsky.

Uzakonnenoe bespravie [Legalized Lawlessness].

Photomontage. Undated.



Figure 189.

Viktor Koretsky.

Untitled. Photomontage. Undated.



Figure 190.

Viktor Koretsky.

Untitled. Photomontage. Undated.



Figure 191.

Viktor Koretsky.

Zemle – prochnyi mir! [*Stable Peace to the World!*]

Poster, 1965.

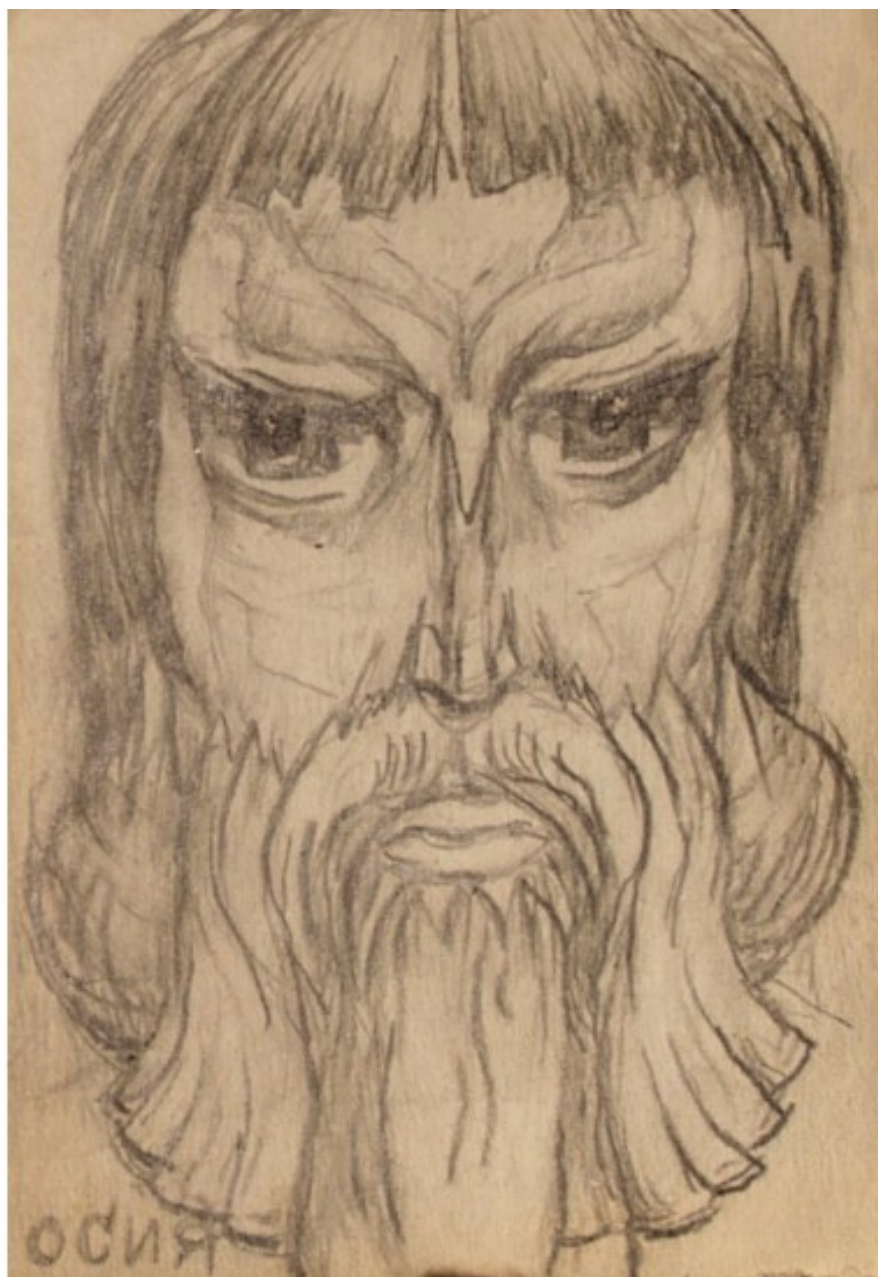


Figure 192.

Viktor Koretsky.

Osiya [Hoshea].

Drawing. Undated.

Chapter 4.

Making Soviet Heartfield.



Figure 193.

Boris Klintsh.

Prizrak brodit po Evrope [A Spectre Is Haunting Europe].

Photomontage. 1933.



Figure 194.

Boris Klintsh.

Ruchaus' golovoi, chto v nastupayuschem godu sotsial-demokraticheskaya partiya dast rabochim vse, chto ot nee zavisit [I Stake My Head that Next Year the Social Democratic Party Will Give the Workers Everything it Can]. Photomontage. 1933.



Figure 195.

Boris Klinch.

Bezliky idol sotsial-fashizma [The Faceless Idol of Social Fascism].

Photomontage. 1933.



Figure 196.

Boris Klitch.

Litso imperialisticheskoi voyny. [The Face of the Imperialist War].

Photomontage. 1933.



Figure 197.

Boris Klinch.

Vot do chego byurokrat mozhet dovesti krolikov [A Bureaucrat Can Even Drive Rabbits to Despair].

Photomontage. 1933.



Figure 198.

Boris Klinch.

U nikh i u nas [Theirs and Ours].

Photomontage. 1933.



Figure 199.

Boris Klinch.

Otto Wells, glava sotsial-fashistskoi partii Germanii [Otto Wells, the Head of the Social-Fascist Party of Germany].

Photographic caricature. 1933.



Figure 200.

Boris Klinch.

Sotsial-demokrat Grazhinsky [The Social Democrat Grazhinsky].

Photographic caricature. 1933.

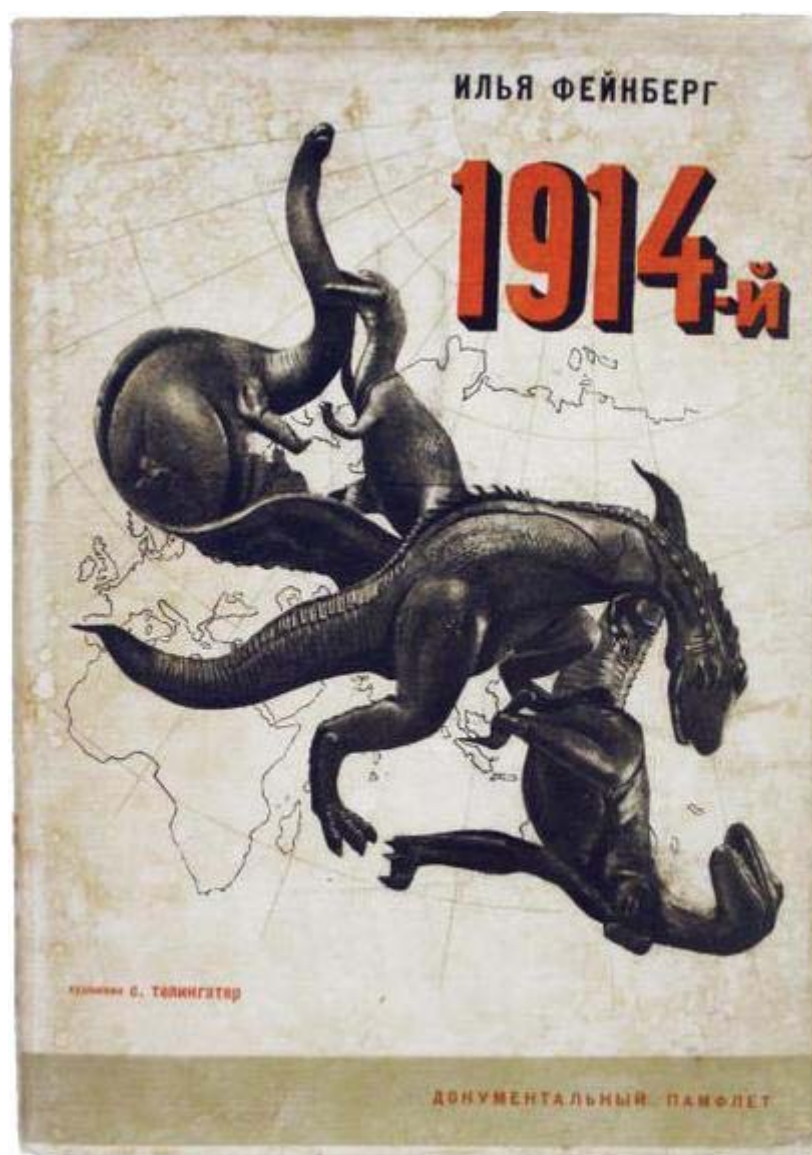


Figure 201.

Solomon Telingater

Cover design. Photomontage. 1934.

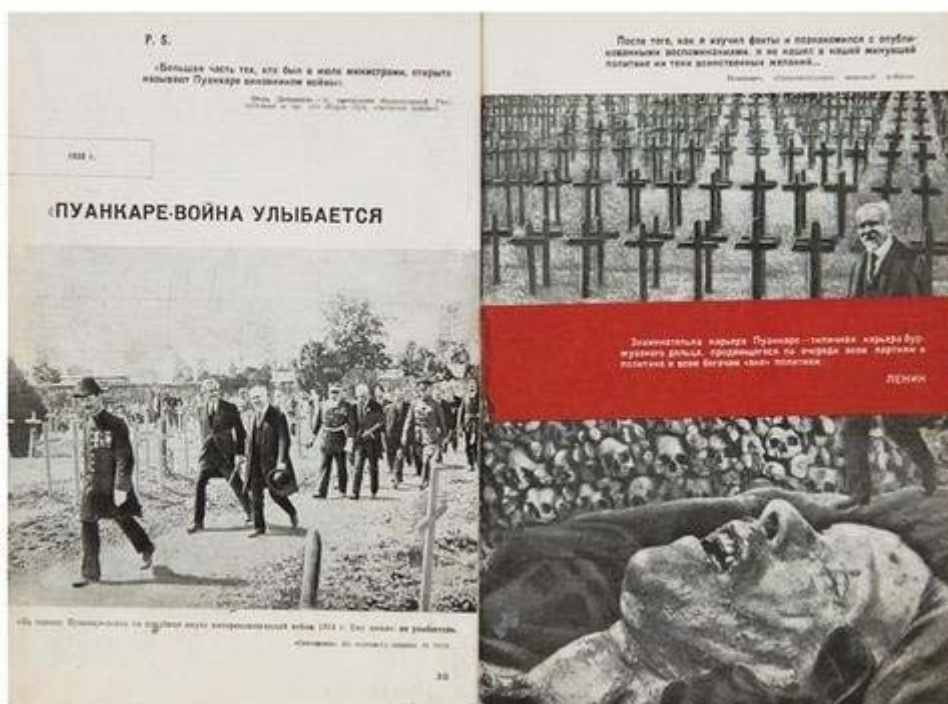


Figure 202.

Solomon Telingater

Puankare –voina ulybaetsya [Poincaré - War is Smiling].

Photomontage. 1934.

Chapter 5.

Photomontage at the Front.

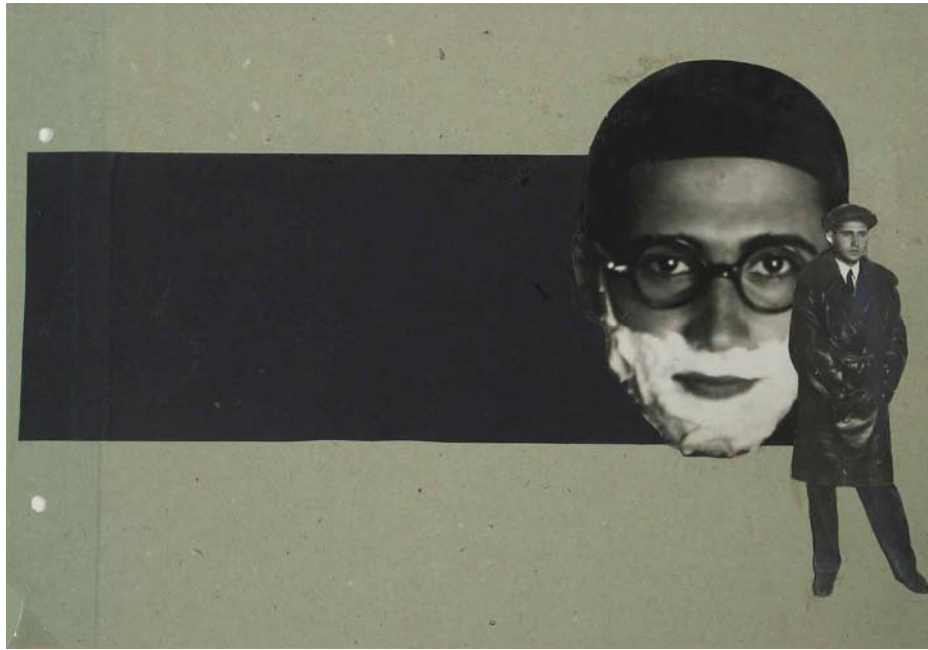


Figure 203.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled. Collage, 1920s.

Figure 204.

Stenberg brothers.

Predatel' [*The Traitor*].

Poster, 1926.



Figure 205.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled. Collage, 1920s.



Figure 206.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled. Collage, 1920s.



Figure 207.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled. Collage, 1920s.



Figure 208.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled. Collage, 1920s.



Figure 209.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled. Collage, 1920s..



Figure 210.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled. Collage, 1920s.



Figure 211.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled. Collage, 1920s.



Figure 212.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Etot kapral prividet Germaniyu k katastrofe [This Corporal Is Leading Germany to Catastrophe].

Photomontage. 1941.

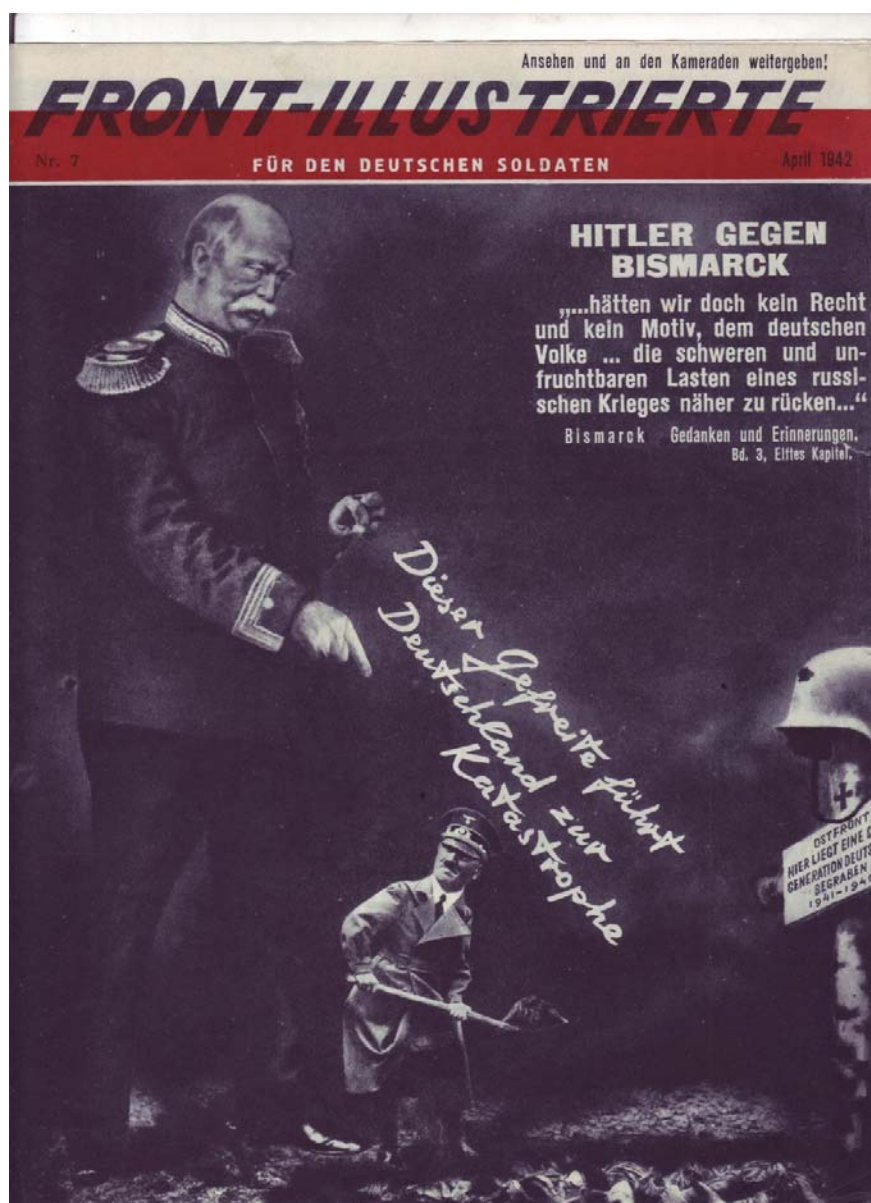


Figure 213.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Hitler gegen Bismarck [Hitler against Bismarck].

Photomontage, 1942.



Figure 214.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Hitler führt Deutschland einem völligen zusammenbruch entgegen [Hitler Is Leading Germany to Complete Collapse].

Photomontage. 1942.



Figure 215.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Hört auf die Worte eines Urenkels von Bismarck [Listen to the Words of Bismarck's Great-Grandchild].

Photomontage. 1942.



Figure 216.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Kazhdyi nemetsky soldat na Vostochnom fronte - smertnik [Every German Soldier on the Eastern Front Is under Sentence of Death].

Photomontage. 1941.



Figure 217.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Basta! Photomontage. 1943/1944.



Figure 218.

Kukryniksy.

Beshposhchadno razgromim i unichtozhim vraga! [We Will Crush and Destroy the Enemy Without Mercy!].

Poster, 1941.



Figure 219.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Ubei beshennogo psa! [Kill the Rabid Dog!].

Photomontage. 1944..



Figure 220.

Sergei Kostin.

Okno TASS No 109. Na tsep'! [TASS Window No 109. Chain Him!].

Stenciled poster. 1941



Figure 221.

Aleksandr Laktionov, Nikolai Pil'shchikov.

Fashizm –krovavoe chudovishche. Bei ego bez poshchady! [Fascism Is a Bloody Monster. Beat it without Mercy!].

Poster. 1941.

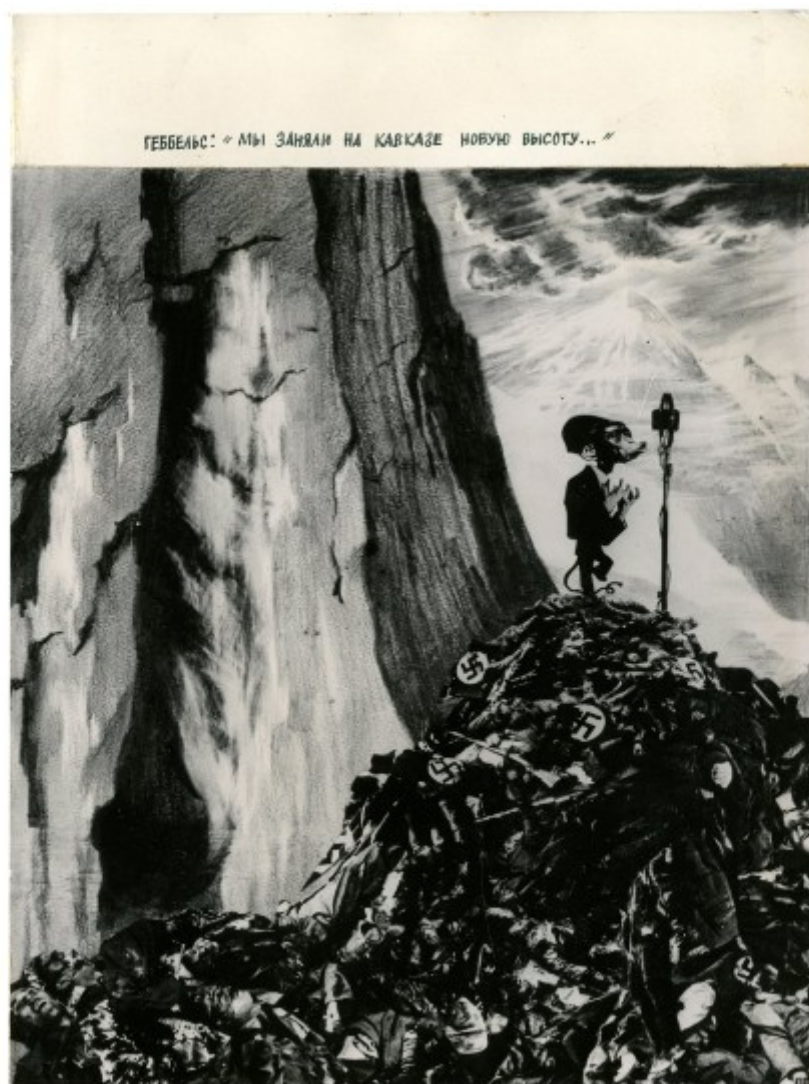


Figure 222.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Gebbel's: My zanyali na Kavkaze novuyu vysotu [Goebbels: We Occupied a New High Point in the Caucasus].

Photomontage. Undated.



Figure 223.

Boris Efimov.

Goebbels. Cartoon. 1941.



Figure 224.

Boris Efimov.

Okno TASS No 810. Gebbel's: Moi fyurer, chto delat' s granitom, iz kotorogo my khoteli vysech' tvoi pamyatnik? [TASS Window No 810. Goebbels: My Führer, What Should we Do with the Granite from which We Wanted to Carve Your Monument?].

Detail. Stenciled poster. 1943.



Figure 225.

Kukryniksy.

Okno TASS No 468/468a. Proezdrom iz Germanii tsirk 'Gitler i kompaniya' [TASS Window No 468/468a. On Tour from Germany, the 'Hitler and Company' Circus].

Detail. Stenciled poster. 1942.



Figure 226.

Kukryniksy.

*Okno TASS No 1109. Krylovskaya martyshka o Gebbel'se [TASS Window No 1109. Krylov's
Monkey about Goebbels].*

Stenciled poster. 1944.



Figure 227.

Kukryniksy.

Okno TASS No 1119. Posledny nomer programmy [TASS Window No 1119. *The Last Number on the Programme*].

Detail. Stenciled poster. 1944.



Figure 228.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Gebbel's: Teper' kazhdyi nemets, dolzhen schitat' svoim elementarnym dolgom, ne sparashivat', kogda konchitsia eta voina [Goebbels: Now Every German Is Bound in Honor not to Ask When Will This War Finish].

Photomontage. Undated.



Figure 229.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Es gibt Glückspilze und Pechvögel [There Are Lucky Ones and Unlucky Ones].

Photomontage. 1943.

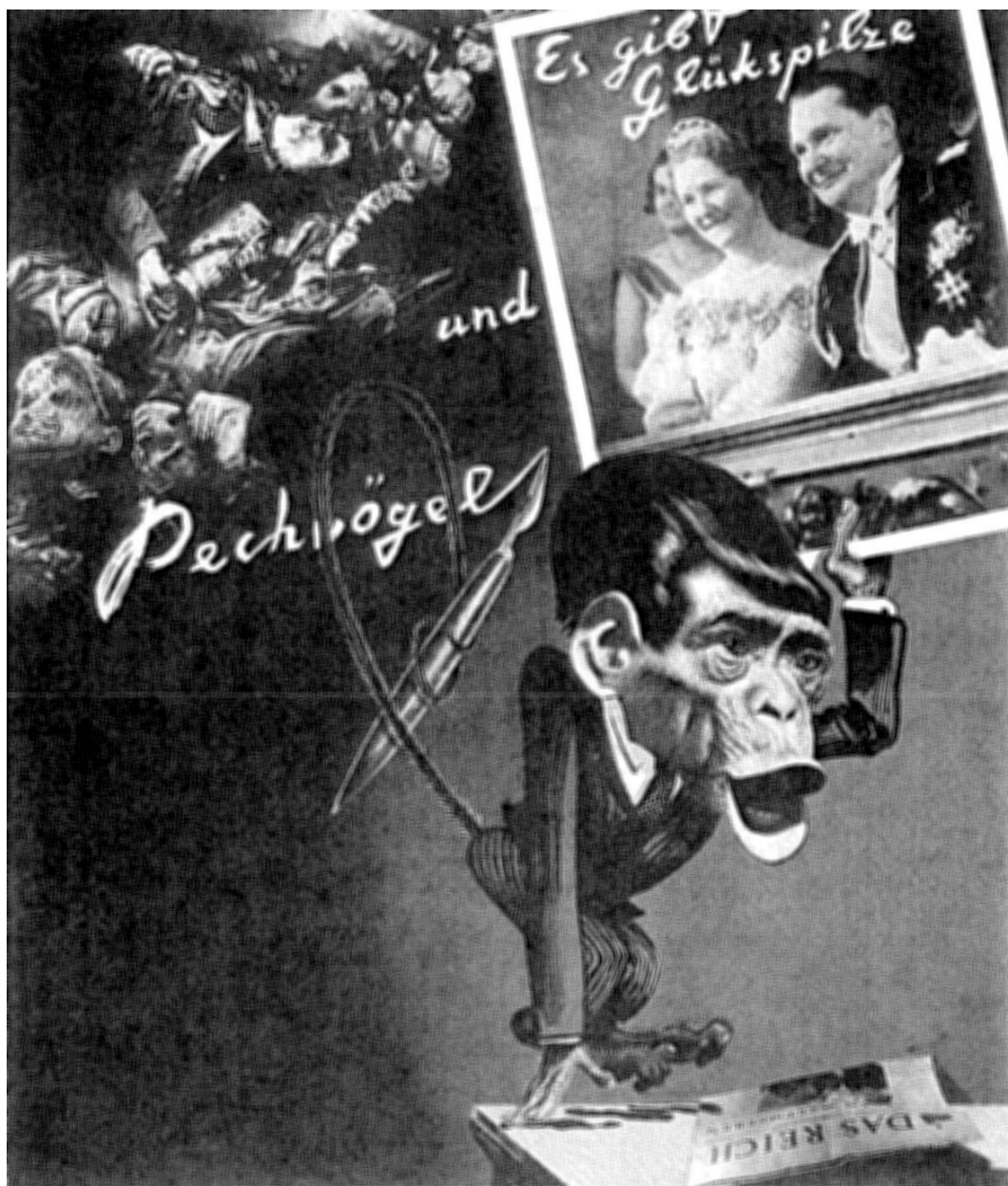


Figure 230.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

There Are Lucky Ones and Unlucky Ones.

Photomontage. 1943.



Figure 231.

Pavel Sokolov-Skalya.

Okno TASS No 981. Nemetskie voiska napominayut teper' ranenog zverya [TASS Window No 981.

The German Army now Looks like a Wounded Animal].

Stenciled poster. 1944.



Figure 232.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Sewastopol. 300, 000 [Sebastopol. 300, 000].

Photomontage. Undated.



Figure 233.

Pavel Sokolov-Skalya.

Okno TASS No1091. Tshchetnye potugi [TASS Window No 1091. Straining in Vain].

Stenciled poster. 1944.

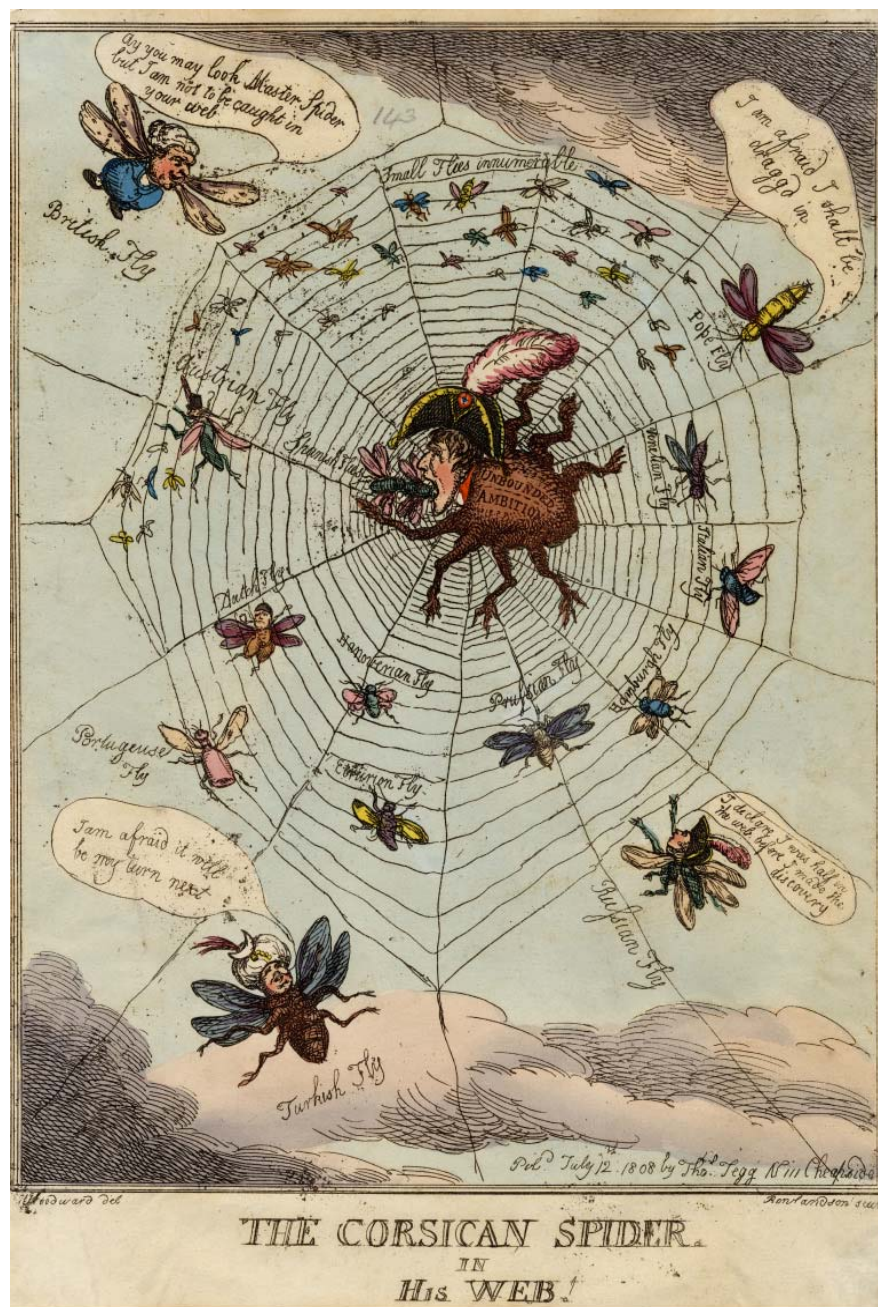


Figure 234.

Thomas Rowlandson.

The Corsican Spider in His Web! Coloured etching. 1808.



Figure 235.

Anonymous.

Deyatel'nost' i zakhvaty iudeev [The Activities and Conquests of the Jews].

Postcard. 1911.



Figure 236.

Boris Efimov.

Korichnevyi pauk [The Brown Spider].

Caricature. 1937.



Figure 237.

Anonymous.

Der Bolschewismus. Grosse antibolschewistische Schau [Bolshevism. The Great Anti-Bolshevist Exhibition].

Poster. 1937.



Figure 238.

Vladimir Lebedev.

Okno TASS No 530. Pauki v banke [TASS Window No 530. Spiders in a Jar].

Stenciled poster. 1944.

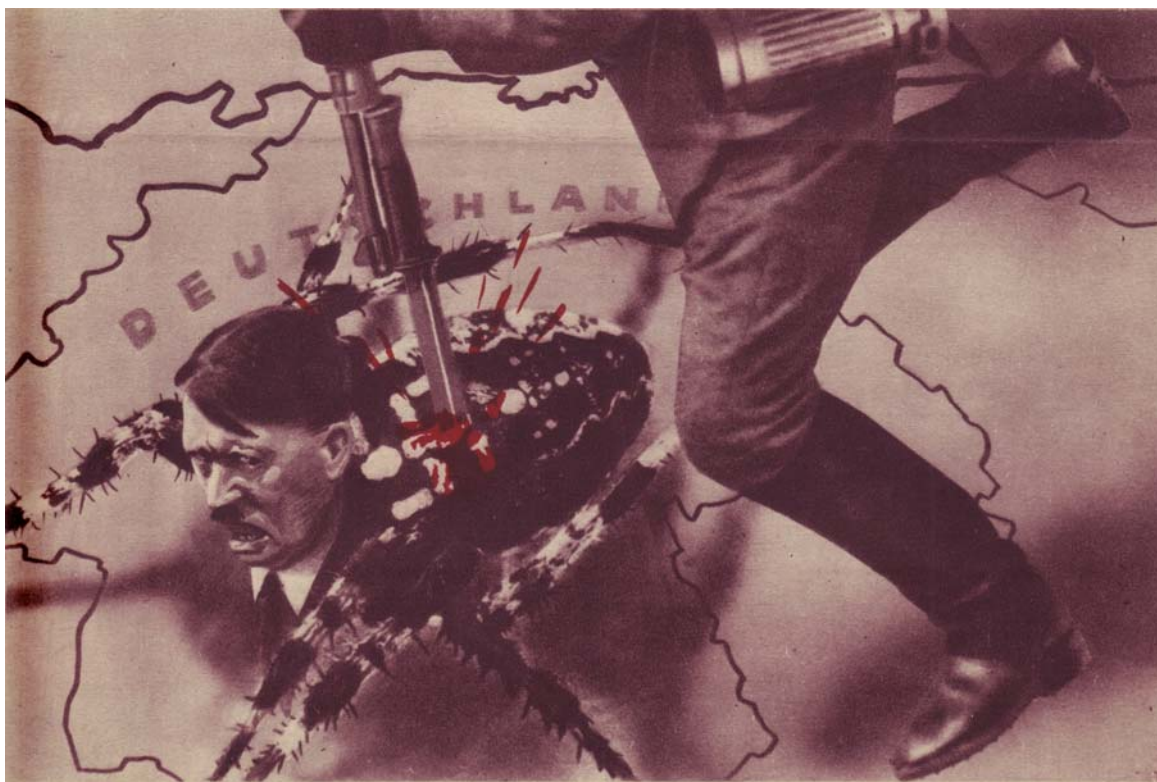


Figure 239.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Braune Spinne [*The Brown Spider*].

Photomontage. 1943.



Figure 240.

Edmund J. Sullivan.

The Kaiser's Garland. Caricature. 1915.



Figure 241.

Faragó Géza.

At the End of the War. Painting. Undated.



Figure 242.

Juriaen van Streeck..

Vanitas. Painting. Ca.1670.



Figure 243.

Jan Janz Treck

Vanitas. Painting, 1648.



Figure 244.

Pavel Sokolov-Skalya.

Okno TASS No 700. 'Mertvaya golova' [TASS Window No 700. 'The Dead Head'].

Stenciled poster. 1944.



Figure 245.

Kukryniksy.

Okno TASS No 873. Slezы, smekh i smert' [TASS Window No 873. Tears, Laughter and Death].

Detail. Stenciled poster. 1943.



Figure 246.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled. Photomontage. 1943.



Figure 247.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Sein Kampf, dein Tod [*His Struggle, Your Death*].

Photomontage. Undated.



Figure 248.

Kukryniksy.

Okno TASS No 993. Tri goda voiny [TASS Window No 993. Three Years of War].

Stenciled poster. 1944.



Figure 249.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Hitlerdeutschland in der Zange [Hitler's Germany in Pincers].

Photomontage. 1944.



Figure 250.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Görings Einkünfte werden mit Soldatenblut und Witwenränen erkaufte [*Goering's Wealth Was Bought with Soldiers' Blood and Widows' Tears*].

Photomontage. 1942.



Glückspilze

ER und seine Frau merken nichts von den Schrecken des Krieges. Sie wohnen in einer prächtigen Villa, leben in Saus und Braus, sind zufrieden und glücklich. So sorglos leben tausende Nazibonzen und ihre Frauen im Hinterland. Sie sind Glückspilze.



Pechvögel

DU wirst im besten Fall zum Krüppel werden. Wo ist Deine hübsche Frau geblieben? Sie hat einen anderen genommen. Dein Familienleben ist dahin, Dein Leben ist zerschlagen. Wer ist daran schuld? Hitler! Er hat Dich in die Knochenmühle des Krieges geworfen.



Glückspilze

SEIN SOHN UND SEIN HEIM sind unversehrt. Warum? Weil er reich ist, und die Reichen kennen nicht die Unbilden des Krieges. Sein Sohn ist UK, weil er gute Beziehungen hat. Sein Heim liegt hoch im Gebirge, an bombensicherer Stelle. Er ist ein Glückspilz.



Pechvögel

DEIN SOHN UND DEIN HEIM wissen, was Bombardierung heißt. Von Deinem gemütlichen Heim ist nur ein Schutthaufen übriggeblieben. Nur Dein Junge hat sich gerettet. Wo soll er hin? Auf die Straße. So hat Dir der von Hitler angezettelte Krieg mitgespielt.

!

Figure 251.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Er - Du [He and You].

Page layout. 1943.



Figure 252.

Kukryniksy.

Okno TASS No 640. Prevrashchenie 'fritzev' [TASS Window No 640. The Metamorphosis of the 'Fritzes'].

Stenciled poster. 1943.



Figure 253.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Montage for the cover of FIZ No 8, March 1943. Photomontage. Undated.

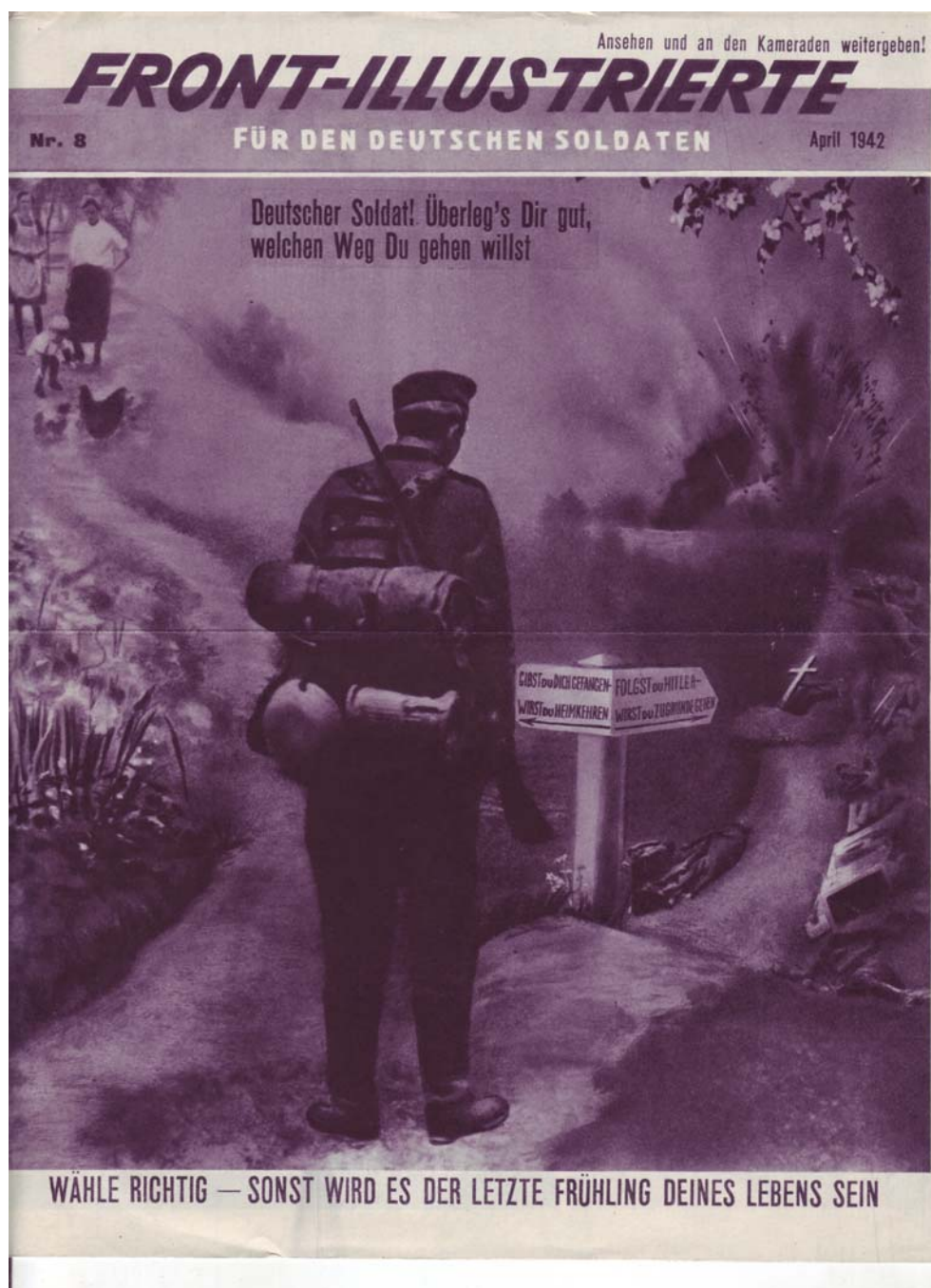


Figure 254.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Wähle Richtig – sonst wird es der Letzte Frühling deines Lebens sein [Make the Right Choice, or it Will Be the Last Spring of Your Life].

Photomontage. 1942.



Figure 255.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Mit Hitler... Fort von Hitler [With Hitler... Away from Hitler].

Photomontage. 1944.



Figure 256.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Unseren Tag [Our Day].

Page layout. 1943.

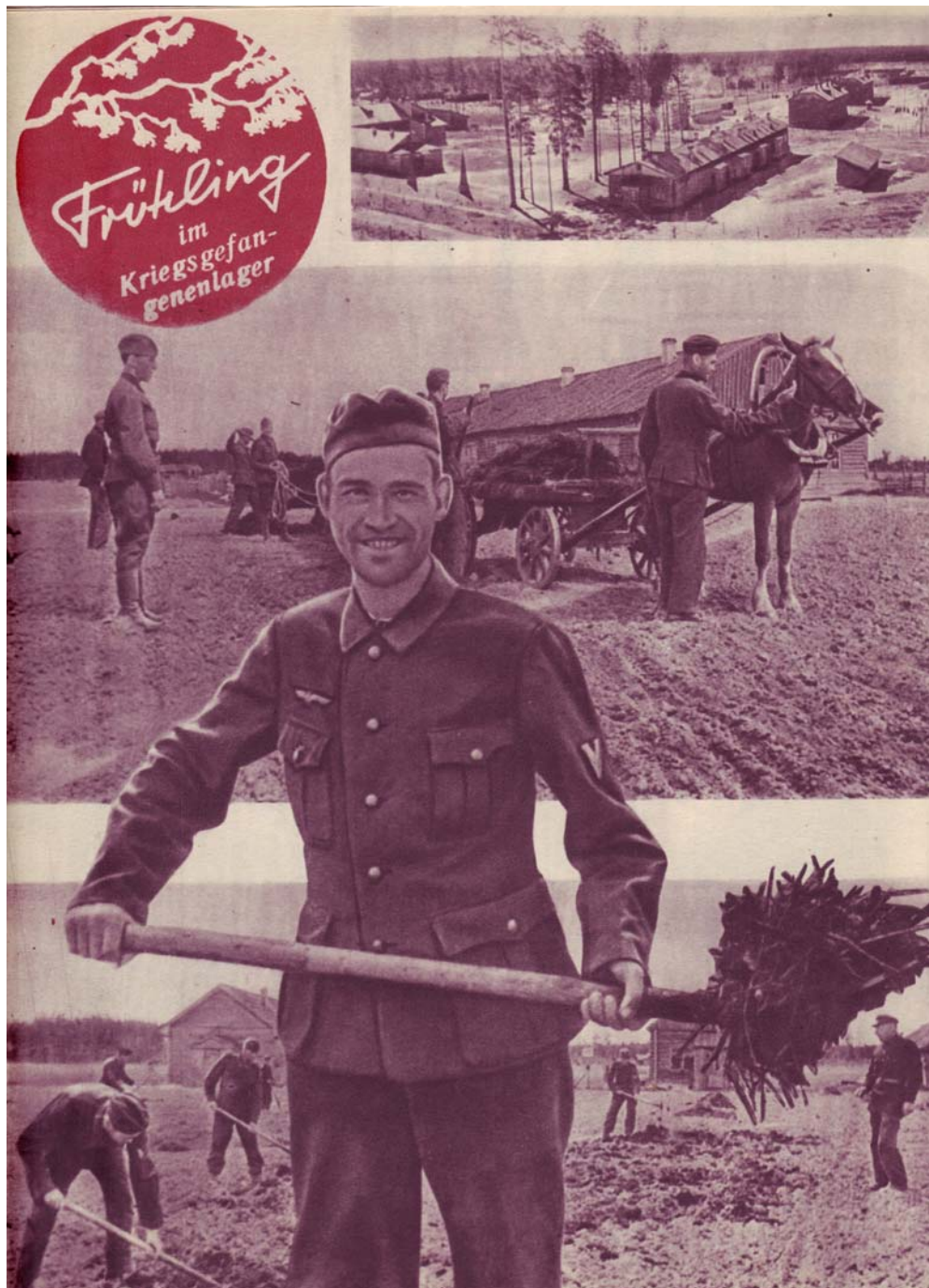


Figure 257.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Frühling im Kriegsgefangenenlager [Spring in the POWs' Camp].

Photomontage. 1943.



Figure 258.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Tri daty [*Three Dates*].

Photomontage. Undated.



Figure 58.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Bol'she nikogda [Never Again].

Photomontage. 1942



Figure 261.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Hitler Frühjahrsoffensive ist Gescheitert [Hitler's Spring Offensive Has Failed].

Layout of two-page spread. 1942.

Das dankt Ihr Eurem Führer! Er hat zwei Armeen bei Stalingrad—ohne Winterausrüstung, ohne Versorgung, ohne Munition—dem Untergang geweiht.

Wer von Hitler die versprochene Rettung erwartete, den hat eine russische Kugel getroffen, eine russische Granate zerfetzt, der ist an Kälte, Hunger und Seuchen eines elenden Todes gestorben.



Figure 263.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Stalingrad. Page layout. 1944.



Figure 264.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Tausende und Aber Tausende! [*Thousands and More Thousands!*].

Layout of two-page spread. 1944.



Figure 265.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Za lakirovannym занавесом [*Behind the Lacquered Screen*].

Photomontage. Undated.



Figure 266.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Poborniki kholodnoi voiny [*The Advocates of the Cold War*].

Photomontage. 1947.



Figure 267.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Dzhon Foster Dalles – pobornik zhestkogo kursa v otnoshenii SSSR [John Foster Dulles, an Advocate for a Tough Policy towards the USSR].

Photomontage. 1947.



Figure 268.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Fokusy zaokeanskogo fakira [Tricks of the Overseas Fakir].

Photomontage. 1949.



Figure 269.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Dvuliky mister Acheson [The Double-Faced Mr. Acheson].

Photomontage. 1952.



Figure 270.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Amerikansky variant skazki 'Krasnaya shapochka' [The American Version of the Fairytale about Little Red Riding Hood].

Photomontage. 1952.



Figure 271.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Shtrauss - voina [Strauss – War].

Photomontage. 1962.



Figure 272.

John Heartfield.

Zum Krisen-Parteitag der SPD [On the Crisis of the Party Congress of the SPD].

Photomontage. 1931.



Figure 273.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Kapitalisticheskaya akula [The Capitalist Shark].

Photomontage. Undated.

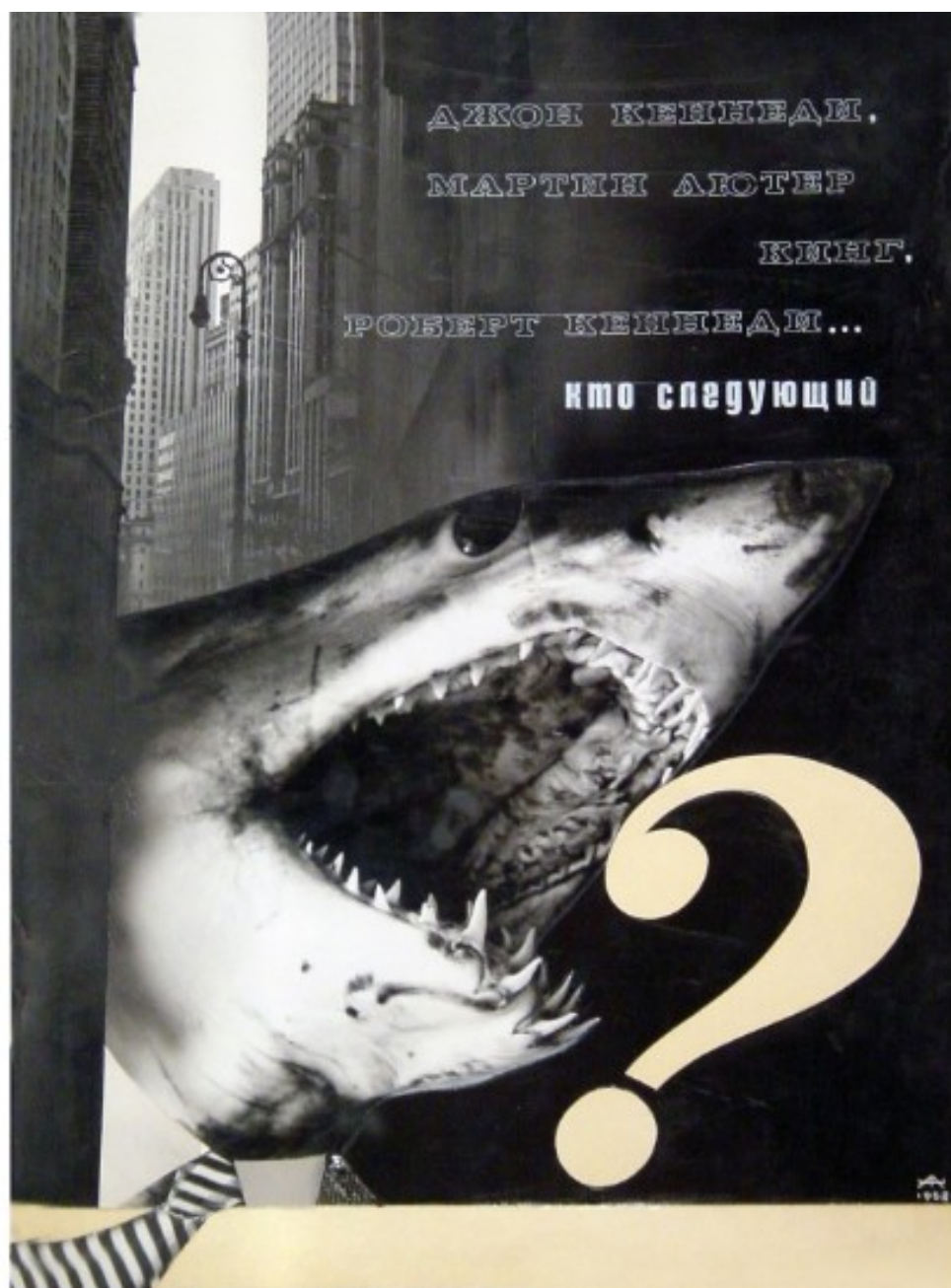


Figure 274.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Kto sleduyushchy? [*Who Is Next?*]

Photomontage. 1968.



Figure 275.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled. Photomontage. 1948.



Figure 276.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Belaya kniga [*The White Book*].

Photomontage. 1949.



Figure 277.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Churchill. Photomontage. 1950..



Figure 278.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Champion angliiskoi diplomatii [*The Champion of British Diplomacy*].

Photomontage. 1951.



Figure 279.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Druz'ya - soyuzniki [Friends Are Allies].

Photomontage. 1962.



Figure 280.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Neumelyi kucher [*The Unskillful Coachman*].

Photomontage. 1948.



Figure 281.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Arkhiplut Bevin [Bevin, the Arch-Trickster].

Photomontage. 1947.



Figure 283.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled. Photomontage. 1950.



Figure 284.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

De-Goll' v pokhod sobralsya [De Gaulle is about to March Off].

Photomontage. Undated.



Figure 285.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Hail' Ettli! Hail' Trumen! [Heil Attlee, Heil Truman!]

Photomontage. 1951.



Figure 286.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled. Photomontage. 1963.



Figure 287.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Isterichesky barabanshchik [*The Hysterical Drummer*].

Photomontage. 1948.



Figure 288.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Znakomyi golos [A Familiar Voice].

Photomontage. 1950.



Figure 289.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Namestnik Gitera – Adenauer [Adenauer, Hitler's Deputy].

Photomontage. 1952.



Figure 300.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Lehren der Geschichte [Study History].

Photomontage. 1943.



Figure 301.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled. Photomontage. 1949.



Figure 302.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled. Photomontage. 1952.



Figure 303.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Soldaty padayut – dokhody rostut [Soldiers Are Falling, Profits Are Growing].

Photomontage. 1952.



Figure 304.

Richard Doyle.

Untitled. Drawing. 1871.

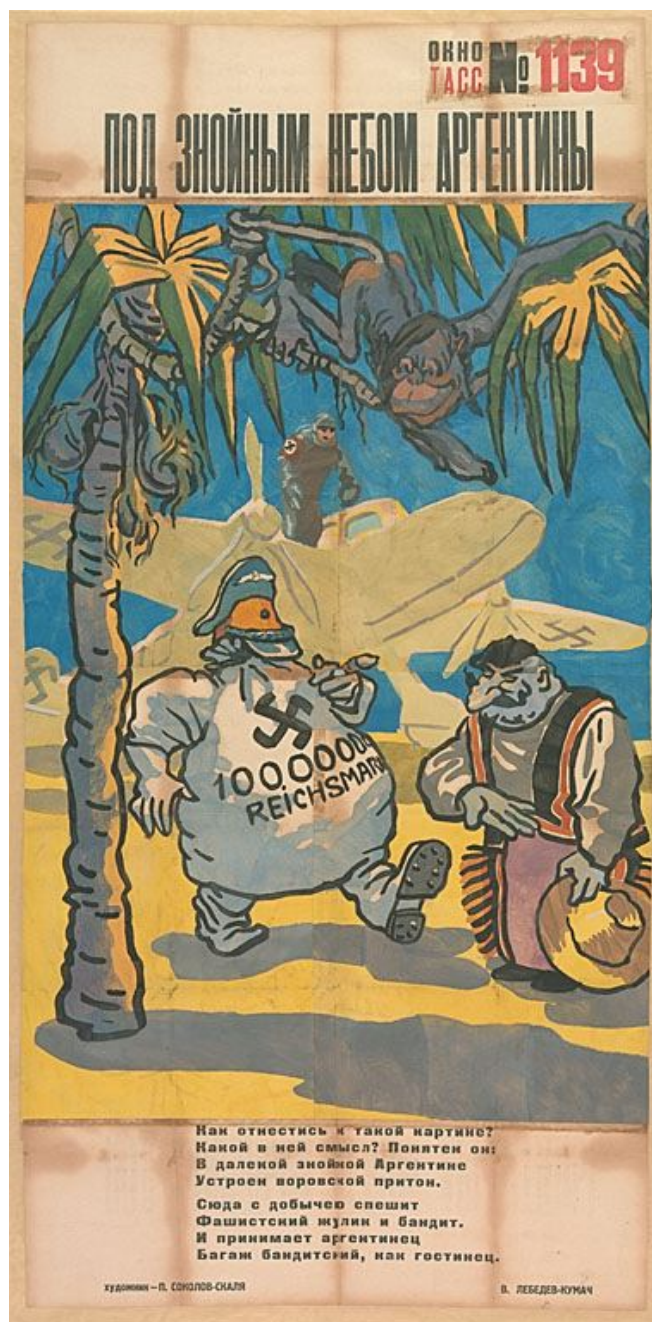


Figure 305.

Pavel Sokolov-Skalya.

Okno TASS No 1139. Pod znoinym nebom Argentiny [TASS Window No 1139. Under the Sultry Sky of Argentina].

Stenciled poster. 1943.

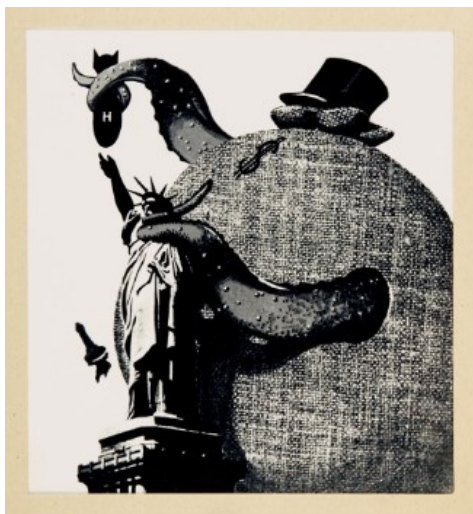


Figure 306.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled. Photomontage. Undated.



Figure 307.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Perspektivy bezrassudstva [*The Perspectives of Folly*].

Photomontage. 1960.



Figure 308.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Kontsern-chudovishche [*The Monstrous Concern*].

Photomontage. 1967.



Figure 309.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled. Photomontage. Undated.



Figure 311.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Volchy appetit [*A Wolf's Appetite*].

Photomontage. 1947.



Figure 311.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Uoll Strit [*Wall Street*].

Photomontage, 1948

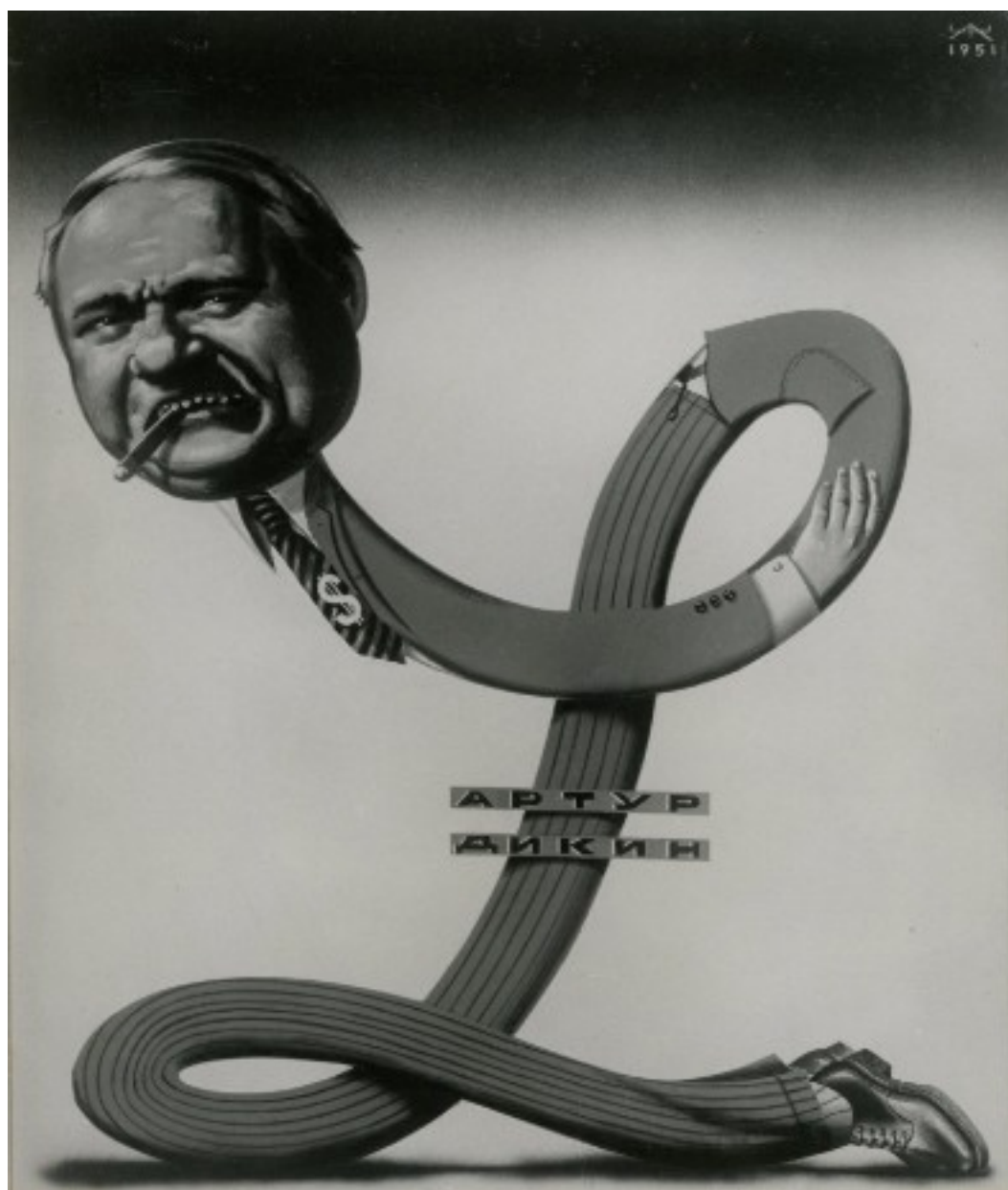


Figure 312.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Artur Dikin [*Arthur Deakin*].

Photomontage. 1951.



Figure 313.

Pavel Sokolov-Skalya.

Okno TASS No 1147. Gitler i 'bratskaya Avstriya' [TASS Window No 1147. Hitler and 'Brotherly Austria'].

Stenciled poster. 1943.



Figure 314.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Potogonnaya sistema [*The Sweating System*].

Photomontage. Undated.



Figure 315.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Sniat' bremya vooruzheny! [*Release the Burden of Armament!*]

Photomontage. Undated.



Figure 316.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled. Collage. Undated.

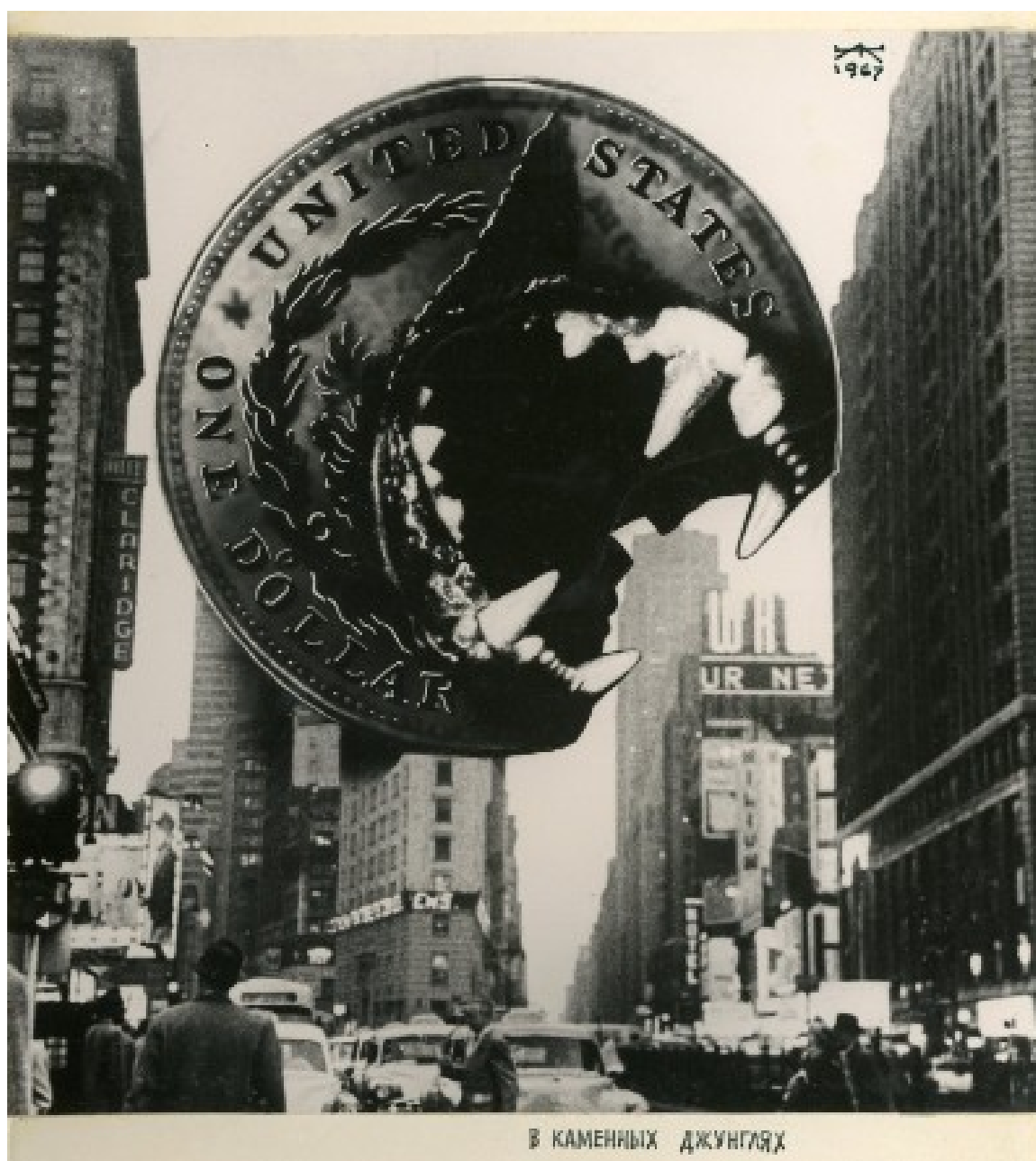


Figure 317.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

V kammennykh dzhunglyakh [In the Stone Jungles].

Photomontage. 1967.



Figure 318.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky

Untitled. Photomontage. 1952.



Figure 319.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Plan Marshalla [The Marshall Plan].

Photomontage. Undated.



Figure 320.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled. Photomontage. Undated.



Figure 321.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Lockheed. Photomontage. 1961.



Figure 322.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Vsadnik bez golovy [*The Headless Horseman*].

Photomontage. 1981.



Figure 323.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Na skam'e podsudimyykh [In the Dock].

Collage. 1949.



Figure 324.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled. Drawing. Undated

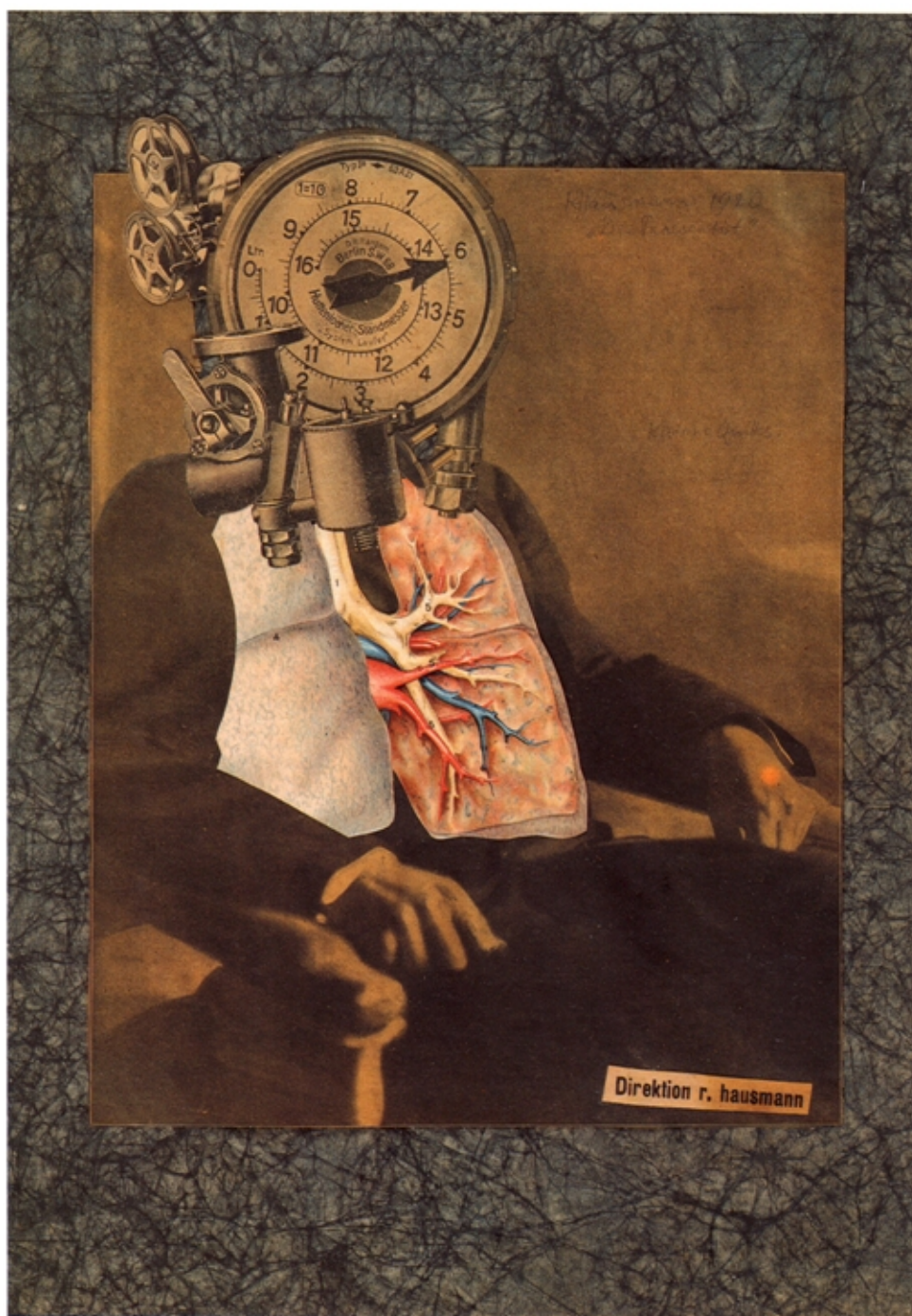


Figure 325.

Raoul Hausmann.

Self-portrait of the Dadasopher. Collage-photomontage. 1920.



Figure 326.

John Heartfield.

Cover design. Photomontage. 1927.

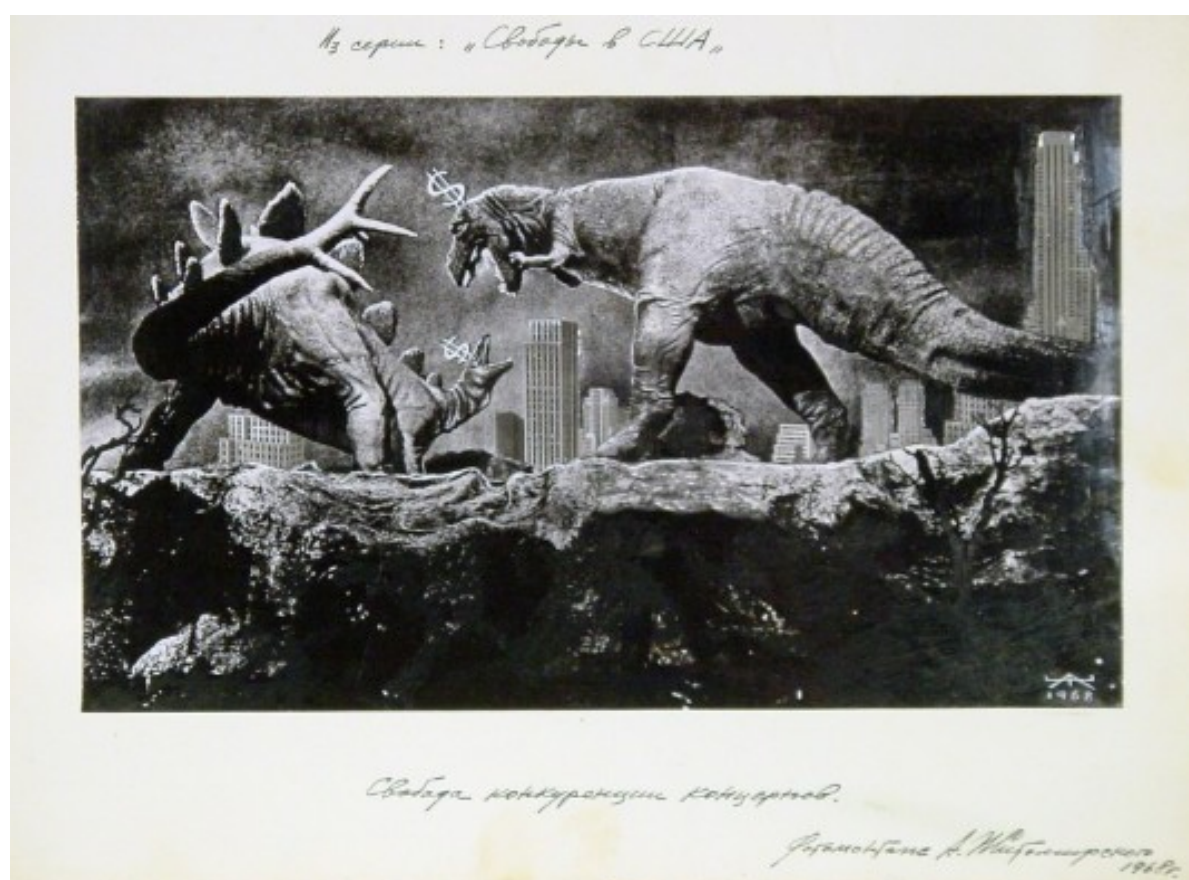


Figure 327.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Svoboda konkurentsii kontsernov [The Freedom of Competition for Corporations].

Photomontage. 1962.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Chapter 1.

Photomontage in the USSR: 1923 – 1940

Figure 1.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Psikhologiya [*Psychology*].

Collage for *Kino-fot*, No 3, 1922. Printed papers on paper, 27 x 17 cm. A. Rodchenko and V.

Stepanova Archive, Moscow.

Figure 2.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Detektiv [*Detective*].

Photomontage. *Kino-fot*, No 3, 1922, p. 12.

Figure 3.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Cover design.

Photomontag. Marietta Shaginyan, *Mess Mend*, (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1924).

Figure 4.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Lovlu ravnovesie... [*Catching balance...*].

Photomontage. Vladimir Mayakovsky, *Pro eto*, (Moscow, Petrograd: GIZ, 1923), unpaginated.

Figure 5.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Ya ushi lapau... [*I am touching my ears...*].

Photomontage. Vladimir Mayakovsky, *Pro eto*, (Moscow, Petrograd: GIZ, 1923),
unpaginated.

Figure 6.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

V posteli ona lezhit... [*She lies in bed...*].

Photomontage. Vladimir Mayakovsky, *Pro eto*, (Moscow, Petrograd: GIZ, 1923),
unpaginated.

Figure 7.

Anonymous.

The Beheading of John the Baptist.

Icon, end of the 17th century, Northern Onega Region. Tempera on pine panel, 151 x 121 cm.

Transfiguration Church, village Turchasovo, Akhangel'sk Region.

Figure 8.

Sandro Botticelli.

Inferno.

Drawing, 1480s. Silverpoint on parchment, completed in pen and ink, coloured with tempera,
32 x 47 cm. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome.

Figure 9.

Pieter Bruegel the Elder.

Netherlandish Proverbs.

Painting, 1559. Oil on oak panel, 117 x 163 cm. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.

Figure 10.

Domenico Fetti.

The Parable of the Mote and the Beam.

Painting, 1619. Oil on wood panel, 61.3 x 44.1 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 11.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Polzlo iz shnura skrebushcheisya revnosti.... [It was crawling out of a cable as the scratching jealousy...].

Photomontage. Vladimir Mayakovsky, *Pro eto*, (Moscow, Petrograd: GIZ, 1923), unpaginated.

Figure 12.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Konstruktsiya No 128 (Liniya) [Construction No 128 (Line)].

Painting, 1920. Oil on canvas, 62 x 53 cm. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow.

Figure 13.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Untitled.

Collage, 1922. Printed papers on paper, 27 x 17 cm. A. Rodchenko and V. Stepanova
Archive, Moscow.

Figure 14.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Cover design.

Photomontage. Vladimir Mayakovsky. *Pro eto*, (Moscow, Petrograd: GIZ, 1923).

Figure 15.

Sergei Sen'kin

Untitled.

Photomontage. *Molodaya gvardiya*, No 2-3, 1924, lithographic insert.

Figure 16.

Aleksandr Rodchenko

Untitled.

Photomontage. *Molodaya gvardiya*, No 2-3, 1924, lithographic insert.

Figure 17.

Aleksandr Rodchenko

Untitled.

Collage for *Molodaya gvardiya*. Gelatin-silver print, printed papers, gouache on paper, 27 x
17 cm. A. Rodchenko and V. Stepanova Archive, Moscow.

Figure 18.

El' Lissitzky.

Klinom krasnym bei belykh [*Beat the Whites with the Red Wedge*].

Poster, 1920. 48.3 x 69 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 19.

Gustavs Klucis.

Dinamicheskii gorod [*The Dynamic City*].

Photomontage, 1919. Gelatin silver print, 16. 1 x 11. 6 cm. Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Figure 20.

Gustavs Klucis.

Elektrifikatsiya vsei strany [*The Electrification of the Entire Country*].

Photomontage, 1920. Gelatin silver print. Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Figure 21.

Gustavs Klucis.

Untitled.

Photomontage. *Molodaya gvardiya*, No 2-3, 1924, lithographic insert.

Figure 22.

Anonymous.

Diesis.

Icon, 17th century. Tempera on pine panel, 14 x 27. 5 cm. Private collection, Moscow.

Figure 23.

Gustavs Klucis.

Untitled.

Photomontage. *Molodaya gvardiya*, No 2-3, 1924, lithographic insert.

Figure 24.

Anonymous.

Christ Acheiropoietos with the Virgin and John the Baptist.

Icon, 1575. Tempera on pine panel, 105 x 76 cm. Nizhny Novgorod Art Museum, Nizhny Novgorod.

Figure 25.

Gustavs Klucis.

Untitled.

Photomontage. *Molodaya gvardiya*, No 2-3, 1924, lithographic insert.

Figure 26.

Simone Martini.

The Annunciation.

Painting, 1333. Detail. Tempera on wooden panel, 184 x 210 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Figure 27.

Gustavs Klucis.

Lenin stoit na grani dvukh epokh v razvitii chelovechestva [Lenin Stands on the Border Between Two Epochs in the Development of Mankind].

Photomontage. *Molodaya gvardiya*, No 2-3, 1924, lithographic insert.

Figure 28.

Gustavs Klucis.

Untitled.

Photomontage. *Molodaya gvardiya*, No 2-3, 1924, lithographic insert.

Figure 29.

Anonymous.

Christ in Majesty.

Icon, 15th century, Tver'. Tempera on wooden panel, 209 x 137 cm. State Russian Museum.

St. Petersburg.

Figure 30.

Gustavs Klucis.

Sport.

Photomontage, 1922. Gelatin silver print, gouache, Indian ink on paper, 29.5 x 22 cm. Ne

Boltai Collection.

Figure 31.

Gustavs Klucis and Sergei Sen'kin.

Untitled.

Photomontage. Il'ya Lin, *Deti i Lenin*, (Moscow: *Molodaya gvardiya*, 1924), p. 3.

Figure 32.

Gustavs Klucis, Sergei Sen'kin.

Aktive uchis'! [*Activists Study!*].

Poster, 1927. 72 x 52 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 33.

Anonymous.

Kalachakra Mandala.

Painting, ca. 1650–1700, Lhasa, Tibet. Ground mineral pigment on cotton, 120.40 x 78.40 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Figure 34.

Anonymous.

The Last Judgment.

Icon, 16th century. Detail. Tempera on wooden panel, 162 x 115 cm. State Tret'yakov Gallery, Moscow.

Figure 35.

Gustavs Klucis, Sergei Sen'kin.

Topota potop... [*Deluge of Tramp...*].

Photomontage, 1925. Gouache, Indian ink on gelatin silver print, 32.5 x 25.7 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 36.

Gustavs Klucis, Sergei Sen'kin.

Proletarii stroites' k poslednei skhvatke... [*Proletarians, Form Ranks for the Last Battle...*].

Photomontage, 1925. Lidiya Oginskaya, *Gustav Klutsis*, (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1981), p. 81.

Figure 37.

Gustavs Klucis, Sergei Sen'kin,

Untitled.

Photomontage. Yurii Lebedinskii, *Zavtra*, (Moscow, Leningrad: 'Molodaya gvardiya', 1924), unpaginated.

Figure 38.

Anonymous.

Christ with Angels.

Mosaic, c. 822. Ceiling of the San Zeno chapel, Basilica di Santa Prassede all'Esquillino, Rome.

Figure 39.

Boris Kustodiev.

Bol'shevik [*The Bolshevik*].

Painting, 1920. Oil on canvas, 101 x 141 cm. State Tret'yakov Gallery, Moscow.

Figure 40.

Gustavs Klucis.

Vmesto odnogo vstali miliony [*Instead of One Person, Millions Will Rise*].

Photomontage. *Molodaya gvardiya*, No 2-3, 1924, lithographic insert.

Figure 41.

Gustavs Klucis, Sergei Sen'kin.

Tvoi obraz budet rukovodiashchei zvezdoi [*Your Image Will Be Our Leading Star*].

Photomontage. Il'ya Lin, *Deti i Lenin*, (Moscow: 'Molodaya gvardiya', 1924), p. 27.

Figure 42.

Isaak Brodsky.

Vystuplenie Lenina pered rabochimi Putilovskogo zavoda v mae 1917 goda [*Lenin's Speech at a Workers' Meeting at the Putilovsky Plant in May 1917*].

Painting, 1929. Oil on canvas, 280 x 555 cm. State Historical Museum, Moscow.

Figure 43.

Aleksandr Gerasimov.

Lenin na tribune [*Lenin on the Podium*].

Painting, 1930. Oil on canvas, 280 x 210 cm. State Historical Museum, Moscow.

Figure 44.

Gustavs Klucis, Sergei Sen'kin.

Untitled.

Photomontage, 1925. Lidiya Oginskaya, *Gusta Klutsis*, (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1981), p. 80.

Figure 45.

Gustavs Klucis.

Untitled.

Photomontage, 1929. Gelatin silver print, 35 x 27. 7 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 46.

Anonymous.

Teper' v Londone stoit stauya Washingtona. Zavtra v N'yu Iorke budet stoyat' statuya Lenina

[Now in London there Is a Statue of Washington. Tomorrow in New York there Will Be a Statue of Lenin].

Photomontage. *Ogon'ok*, 10 November 1931, No 31 (419), cover design.

Figure 47.

El Lissitzky, Sergei Sen'kin.

Untitled.

Photo-fresco, 1928. Sophie Lissitzky Küppers, *El Lissitzky*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1992), plate 207.

Figure 48.

Anonymous.

Untitled.

Photomontage, 1930s. Gelatin silver print, 22 x 22 cm. Private collection.

Figure 49.

Aleksandr Rodchenko

Cover design.

Photomontage. *K zhivomu Il'ichu*, (Moscow: Krasnaya nov', 1924).

Figure 50.

Gustavs Klucis.

Design of the Poster Display.

Photomontage, 1931. Gelatin silver print, 10. 5 x 19. 1 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 51.

Varvara Stepanova.

Design of end-leaf.

Photomontage. Vladimir Mayakovsky, *Groznyi smekh*, (Moscow; GIKhL, 1932).

Figure 52.

Mechislav Dorokhovsky

Cover design.

Photomontage. *Mai*, (Moscow: GIZ, 1924).

Figure 53.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Cover design.

Photomontage. Vladimir Mayakovsky, *Razgovor s fininspektorom o poezii*, (Tiflis: Zakkniga, 1927).

Figure 54.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Back cover design.

Photomontage. Vladimir Mayakovsky, *Razgovor s fininspektorom o poezii*, (Tiflis: Zakkniga, 1927).

Figure 55.

Gustavs Klucis.

1 maiya den' mezhdunarodnoi proletarskoi solidarnosti [*The First of May, the Day of International Proletarian Solidarity*].

Poster, 1930. 105. 2 x 73. 9 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 56.

Gustavs Klucis.

Na shturm 3go goda pyatiletki [*To the Storm of the 3rd Year of the Five-Year Plan*].

Poster, 1930. 103. 5 x 72. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 57.

Gustavs Klucis.

Vernem ugol'nyi dolg strane [*We Will Return the Coal Debt to the Country*].

Poster, 1930. 104. 5 x 73 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 58.

Gustavs Klucis.

Da zdravstvuet SSSR otechestvo trudiyashchikhsya vsego mira [*Long Live the USSR, the Motherland of Working People of the Whole World*].

Poster, 1931. 142. 6 x 102 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 59.

Gustavs Klucis.

SSSR – udarnaya brigada mirovogo proletariat [The USSR Is the Shock Brigade of the World Proletariat].

Poster, 1931. 144 x 103. 4 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 60.

Gustavs Klucis.

Dadim milliony kvalifitsirovannykh rabochikh kadrov dlya novykh 518 fabrik i zavodov [Let's Provide Millions of Qualified Workers for the 518 New Factories and Plants].

Poster, 1931. 142 x 101. 7 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 61.

El Lissitzky, Sergei Sen'kin.

Untitled.

Photo-fresco, 1928. Sophie Lissitzky Küppers, *El Lissitzky*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1992), plate 206.

Figure 62.

Gustavs Klucis.

Decoration of Sverdlov Square in Moscow for 1 May 1932.

Photograph, 1932. Gelatin silver print, 17. 2 x 23. 5. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 63.

Mikhail Razulevich.

Real'nost; nashei programmyeto zhivye ludi [*The Greatness of Our Programme Is Living People*].

Photomontage, 1932. *Proletarskoe foto*, 1931, No 1, pp. 24-25.

Figure 64.

Anonymous .

Montage of the photographic picture 'The Greatness of Our Programme Is Living People'.

Photograph, 1932. *Proletarskoe foto*, 1931, No 1, p 22.

Figure 65.

Gustavs Klucis.

Real'nost' nashei programmy – eto zhivye ludi [*The Greatness of Our Programme Is Living People*].

Poster, 1931. 142. 3 x 103. 2. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 66.

Amateur photographic circle of the collective farm the *Free Ploughman*.

Produktsiu kolkhoza gosudarstvu [*Give the Produce of the Collective Farm to the State*].

Photomontaged wall newspaper, 1930. *Sovetskoe foto*, 1930, No 23, p. 677.

Figure 67.

Amateur photographic circle of the the Moscow Electric Factory.

Photographic newspaper of the Moscow Electric Factory.

Photomontaged newspaper, 1930. *Sovetskoe foto*, 1930, No 21, p. 615.

Figure 68.

Anonymous.

Opytnaya masterskaia [The Experimental Workshop].

Photomontaged postcard, 1930s. Private collection.

Figure 69.

Gustavs Klucis.

Vypolnim plan velikih rabot [We Will Fulfill the Plan of Great Works].

Poster, 1930. 122. 3 x 88. 4 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 70.

Gustavs Klucis.

Rabochie i rabotnitsy! Vse na perevybory Sovetov [Working Men and Women! Everybody Take Part in the Re-Election of the Soviets].

Poster, 1930. 124. 7 x 87. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 71.

M. B.

Proletarskaya rat', idi Sovetui vybirat'![Proletarian Forces Go to Elect the Soviets!].

Poster, 1927. 108. 8 x 72. 2 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 72.

Visual Arts Group of the *Orlov Club*.

Lenin zaveshchal komsomolu: vo pervykh uchites' [Lenin Instructed the Komsomol: in the First Instance, Study].

Poster, undated. *Iskusstvo rabochikh*, (Leningrad: Gosudarstvennii Russkii Muzei, 1928), reproduced on the title page.

Figures 73-74

Nikolai Troshin.

Combination of one full page and four half pages.

SSSR na stroike, No 11, 1933, unpaginated.

Figure 75.

Gustavs Klucis.

Molodezh', na samolety [Youth, Board the Aeroplanes].

Poster, 1934. 139. 7 x 98. 9 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 76.

Gustavs Klucis.

Stalin.

Photomontage, 1935. Gelatin silver print, 21. 3 x 15. 2 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 78.

Gustavs Klucis.

Untitled.

Photograph, 1935. Gelatin silver print, 16. 5 x 26. 2 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Chapter 2.

Competing with Cinema.

Figure 79.

The Souzfoto Brigade.

24 Stunden aus dem Leben einer Moskauer Arbeiterfamilie [24 Hours in the Life of a Moscow Worker's Family].

Photograph. *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* (Berlin), No 38 (1938), p 749.

Figure 80.

Brigade of Souzfoto.

Den' moskovskoi rabochei sem'i [A Day in the Life of a Moscow Worker's Family].

Photomontage. *Proletarskoe foto*, No 4, 1931, colour insert.

Figure 81.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

AMO.

Photomontage. *Daesh*, No 14, 1929, unpaginated.

Figure 82.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

AMO.

Photomontage. *Daesh*, No 14, 1929, unpaginated.

Figure 83.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

AMO.

Photomontage. *Daesh*, No 14, 1929, unpaginated.

Figure 84.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Untitled.

Photomontage. *Daesh*, No 10, 1929, unpaginated.

Figure 85.

Boris Ignatovich.

Kurinyi zavod OGPU [The Chicken Factory of the OGPU].

Photo-story. *Daesh*, No 3, 1929, unpaginated.

Figure 86.

Dmitry Debabov.

Daesh provoda [Give Wire].

Photo-story. *Daesh*, No 3, 1929, unpaginated.

Figure 87.

Brigade of Souzfoto.

U nikh i u nas. Traktora na polyakh [Theirs and Ours: Tractors in the Fields].

Photomontage. *Proletarskoe foto*, No 3, 1932, lithographic insert.

Figure 88.

Brigade of Souzfoto.

U nikh i u nas. U zavodskikh vorot [Theirs and Ours: At the Factory Gates].

Photomontage. *Proletarskoe foto*, No 3, 1932, lithographic insert.

Figure 89.

Brigade of Souzfoto.

U nikh i u nas. Obshchestvennoe pitanie detei [Theirs and Ours: The Food Service for Children].

Photomontage. *Proletarskoe foto*, No 3, 1932, lithographic insert.

Figure 90.

Brigade of Souzfoto.

U nikh i u nas. Khozyain ulitsy [Theirs and Ours: The Master of the Street].

Photomontage. *Proletarskoe foto*, No 3, 1932, lithographic insert.

Figure 91.

Maks Al'pert.

The bandaged finger of the worker Kalmykov featured in the photo-series 'The Giant and the Builder' by Maks Al'pert.

Photo-series 'Gigant i stroitel', *SSSR na stroike*, No. 1, 1932.

Figure 92.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Na telephone [Answering the Telephone].

Photograph. *Aleksandr Rodchenko*, (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1998), p. 261.

Figure 93.

Maks Al'pert.

Gigant i stroitel' [*The Giant and the Builder*].

Two-page spread. *SSSR na stroike*, No. 1, 1932, unpaginated.

Figure 94.

Maks Al'pert.

Gigant i stroitel' [*The Giant and the Builder*].

Photomontage. *SSSR na stroike*, No. 1, 1932, unpaginated.

Figure 95.

Maks Al'pert.

Gigant i stroitel' [*The Giant and the Builder*].

Photomontage. *SSSR na stroike*, No. 1, 1932, unpaginated.

Figure 96.

Maks Al'pert.

Gigant i stroitel' [*The Giant and the Builder*].

Photomontage. *SSSR na stroike*, No. 1, 1932, unpaginated.

Figure 97.

Maks Al'pert.

Gigant i stroitel' [*The Giant and the Builder*].

Photomontage. *SSSR na stroike*, No. 1, 1932, unpaginated.

Figure 98.

Maks Al'pert.

Gigant i stroitel' [*The Giant and the Builder*].

Two-page spread. *SSSR na stroike*, No. 1, 1932, unpaginated.

Figure 99.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Belomoro-Baltiisky kanal imeni tovarishcha Stalina [*The White Sea-Baltic Canal Named after Comrade Stalin*].

Photomontage. *SSSR na stroike*, No. 12, 1933, unpaginated.

Figure 100.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Belomoro-Baltiisky kanal imeni tovarishcha Stalina [*The White Sea-Baltic Canal Named after Comrade Stalin*].

Photomontage. Two-page spread. *SSSR na stroike*, No. 12, 1933, unpaginated.

Figure 101.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Belomoro-Baltiisky kanal imeni tovarishcha Stalina [*The White Sea-Baltic Canal Named after Comrade Stalin*].

Photomontage. Two-page spread. *SSSR na stroike*, No. 12, 1933, unpaginated.

Figure 102.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Belomoro-Baltiisky kanal imeni tovarishcha Stalina [*White Sea-Baltic Canal Named after Comrade Stalin*].

Photomontage. Two-page spread. *SSSR na stroike*, No. 12, 1933, unpaginated.

Figure 103.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Belomoro-Baltiisky kanal imeni tovarishcha Stalina [*White Sea-Baltic Canal Named after Comrade Stalin*].

Photomontage. *SSSR na stroike*, No. 12, 1933, unpaginated.

Figure 104.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Belomoro-Baltiisky kanal imeni tovarishcha Stalina [*The White Sea-Baltic Canal Named after Comrade Stalin*].

Photomontage. Two-page spread. *SSSR na stroike*, No. 12, 1933, unpaginated.

Figure 105.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Belomoro-Baltiisky kanal imeni tovarishcha Stalina [*The White Sea-Baltic Canal Named after Comrade Stalin*].

Photomontage. *SSSR na stroike*, No. 12, 1933, unpaginated.

Figure 106.

Aleksandr Rodchenko.

Belomoro-Baltiisky kanal imeni tovarishcha Stalina [*The White Sea-Baltic Canal Named after Comrade Stalin*].

Photomontage. *SSSR na stroike*, No. 12, 1933, unpaginated.

Figure 107.

Screen for projecting photographic films installed on the façade of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk City Council.

Photograph. *Proletarskoe foto*, No 3, 1932, p. 23, unpaginated.

Figure 108.

One of the light-boxes used for demonstrating photographic films installed in Ivanovo-Voznesensk.

Photograph. *Proletarskoe foto*, No 3, 1932, p. 25, unpaginated.

Figure 109.

The photographic studio of the House of the Red Army and Fleet of Kronstadt.

Fragments of the light newspaper.

Photograp. N. D. Petrov, *Svetovaya gazeta i diapozitivui dlya nee* (Moscow: Aktsionernoe izdatel'skoe obshchestvo 'Ogonek,' 1930), pp. 46 -47.

Chapter 3.

Photomontage as a Photographic Picture.

Figure 110.

KGK Brigade.

Da zdravstvuet mezhdunarodnyi den ' rabotnits 8 Marta [Long Live the International Day of Working Women 8th of March].

Poster, 1930. 93. 3 x 58. 6 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 111.

Anonymous.

Calendar Icon.

Russia, 19th century. Tempera on wood, 54 x 44. 4 cm. Temple Gallery, London.

Figure 112.

Viktor Koretsky and Vera Gitsevich.

Profsouzu SSSR peredovoi otryad mirovogo rabocheho dvizheniya [The Trade Unions of the USSR Are the Advanced Detachment of the International Workers' Movement].

Poster, 1932. 70 x 97 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 113.

KGK Brigade.

Delegatka, bud' vpered! [Woman-Delegate, Be in Advance!]

Poster, 1931. 98. 4 x 67. 7 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 114.

Gustavs Klucis.

SSSR – udarnaya brigada mirovogo proletariat [The USSR Is the Shock-brigade of the World Proletariat].

Poster, 1931. 144 x 103. 4 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 115.

KGK Brigade.

Dadim syr'e sotsiaisticheskoi promyshlennosti [Let's Give Raw Materials to Socialist Industry].

Poster, 1931. 94 x 66. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 116.

Viktor Koretsky.

Eto est' nash posledny i reshitel'nyi boi [It Is Our Last and Decisive Battle].

Poster, 1936. 63. 2 x 94. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 117.

Gustavs Klucis.

Na shturm 3-go goda pyatiletki [To the Storm of the 3rd Year of the Five-Year Plan].

Poster, 1930. 103. 5 x 72. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 118.

Gustavs Klucis and Sergei Sen'kin.

Cover design.

Pamyati pogibshikh vozhdei, (Moscow: Moskovskii rabochii, 1927). Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 119.

Gustavs Klucis.

Da zdravstvuet SSSR otechestvo trudyashchikhsya vsego mira [*Long Live the Soviet Union – the Fatherland of the World Proletariat*].

Poster, 1931. 142. 6 x 102 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 120.

John Heartfield.

Die Rote Einheit [*The Red Unity*].

Photomontage, *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* (Berlin), No 33, 1932, cover design.

Figure 121.

Viktor Koretsky.

Sovetskie fizkul'turniki – gordost' nashei strany [*Soviet Sportsmen Are the Pride of Our Country*].

Poster, 1935. 106. 9 x 78. 2 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 122.

Viktor Koretsky.

Za shchastlivuyu yunnost' [*For a Happy Youth*].

Photomontage, 1935. Gelatin-silver print, 23 x 15. 8 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 123.

Gustavs Klucis.

Bez revolutsionnoi teorii ne mozhet byt' revolutsionogo dvizheniya [*The Revolutionary Movement Is Impossible without Revolutionary Theory*].

Poster, 1927. 107 x 72. 6 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 124.

Viktor Koretsky.

Let do sta rasti nam bez starost [*We Will Grow without Becoming Old until We Are a Hundred Years Old*].

Photomontage, 1938. Gelatin-silver print, 23 x 16 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 125.

Viktor Koretsky.

Da zdravstvuet Leninsko-Stalinsky komsomol – shef voenno-morskogo flota SSSR [*Long Live the Leninist-Stalinist Young Communist League, the Patron of the USSR's Navy*].

Poster, 1939. 87. 8 x 62. 7 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 126.

Anonymous.

The Virgin of the Unburnt Bush.

Icon, 16th century. Tempera on wood, 164 x 135 cm, Kolomenskoe museum, Moscow.

Figure 127.

Viktor Koretsky.

Mūs Valdibai un Partija [*We, the Government and the Party*].

Poster, 1939. 86 x 61 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 128.

Anonymous.

The Holy Trinity.

Icon, 17th century. Tempera on wood, 180 x 146 cm. Church of Theophany, Semenovskoe village, Vologda Region.

Figure 129.

Viktor Koretsky.

Kolkhozniki, rabotniki MTS i sovkhovov ravnyaies' poпередovikam [*Collective Farmers, Workers of MTS, Follow the Example of the Shock Workers*].

Poster, 1939. 94. 7 x 62. 3 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 130.

Harrison Forman.

The Pavilion of Mechanization.

Photograph, 1939. *Fotografii staroi Moskvy*. <http://www.oldmos.ru/photo/view/3028>

Figure 131.

Ivan Shagin.

The Pavilion of Mechanization.

Photograph, 1939. *Fotografii staroi Moskvy*. <http://www.oldmos.ru/photo/view/3028>

Figure 132.

John Heartfield.

Lenin.

Photomontage, *SSSR na stroike*. No 9, 1932, unpaginated.

Figure 133.

Gustavs Klucis.

Kommunizm – eto sovetskaya vlast' plus elektrifikatsiya vsei strany [*Communism Is Soviet Power Plus the Electrification of the Entire Country*].

Poster, 1928. 71. 9 x 51 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 134.

Gustavs Klucis.

Pod znamenem Lenina za sotsialisticheskoe stroitel'stvo [*Building Socialism under the Banner of Lenin*].

Poster, 1930. 94. 3 x 68. 8 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 135.

Gustavs Klucis.

Untitled.

Photomontage, 1933. Gelatin-silver print, 23. 6 x 17. 7 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 136.

Viktor Koretsky.

Stalin – znamya sovetskikh letchikov [*Stalin Is the Banner for Soviet Pilots*].

Photomontage, *Pravda*, 18 August, 1938.

Figure 137.

Viktor Koretsky.

Da zdravstvuet 1-go Maya [Long Live the 1st of May].

Photomontage, *Pravda*, 1 May, 1940.

Figure 138.

Viktor Koretsky.

Da zdravstvuet 1-go Maya [Long Live the 1st of May].

Photomontage, *Pravda*, 1 May, 1941.

Figure 139.

Viktor Koretsky.

Udarniki v boi za chugun, stal', prokat [Shock Workers, Go into Battle for Cast Metal, Steel, and Rolling Stock].

Poster, 1933. 136 x 98. 3 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 140.

Viktor Koretsky.

Bud' gotov k sanitarnoi oborone SSSR [Be Ready for the Medical Defence of the USSR].

Photomontage, 1938. Gelatin-silver print, 23 x 16 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 141.

Viktor Koretsky.

Esli zavtra voina [If War Comes Tomorrow].

Poster, 1938. 102 x 72 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 142.

Viktor Koretsky.

Nasha armiya eto armiya osvobozhdeniya trudishchikhsya [Our Army Is the Army for the Liberation of Working People].

Photomontage, 1938. Gouache on gelatin- silver print, 102 x 72 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 143.

Viktor Koretsky.

Nasha armiya eto armiya osvobozhdeniya trudishchikhsya [Our Army Is the Army for the Liberation of Working People].

Photomontage, *Pravda*, 22 September, 1939.

Figure 144.

Viktor Koretsky.

Nasha armiya eto armiya osvobozhdeniya trudishchikhsya [Our Army Is the Army for the Liberation of Working People].

Photomontage, *SSSR na stroike*, 1940, No 2-4, cover design.

Figure 145.

Viktor Koretsky.

Slava Krasnoi Armii – osvoboditel' nitse narodov Bessarabii i Severnoi Bukoviny! [Glory to the Red Army, the Liberator of the People of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina!].

Poster, 1940. 60. 7 x 90. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 146.

Mikhail Solov'ev

Okno TASS No 1092. Privet Yugoslavskomu narodu! [TASS Window No 1092. Greetings to the People of Yugoslavia!].

Stenciled poster, 1944. 118 x 120 cm. Art Institute of Chicago.

Figure 147.

Mikhail Solov'ev

Okno TASS No 1044. Slava osvoboditelyam Kishineva! [TASS Window No 1044. Glory to the Liberators of Kishinev!].

Stenciled poster, 1944. 162 x 182 cm. Art Institute of Chicago.

Figure 148.

Vladimir Milashevsky.

Okno TASS No 1058. Tallin osvobozhden! [TASS Window No 1058. Tallinn is Liberated!].

Stenciled poster, 1944. 162 x 87 cm. Art Institute of Chicago.

Figure 149.

Viktor Koretsky.

Bratsky soyuz nerushim! [The Brotherly Union is Indissoluble!].

Photomontage, 1945. Gelatin-silver print, 16 X 10 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 150.

Iraklii Toidze.

Rodina-mat' zovet! [*The Motherland Is Calling!*].

Poster, 1941. 68. 4 x 40. 6 cm. The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Figure 151.

Viktor Koretsky.

Bud' geroem! [*Be a Hero!*].

Poster, 1941. 88 x 60 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 152.

Viktor Koretsky.

Untitled.

Photomontage, 1930s. Gouache on gelatin-silver print, 50 x 33 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 153.

Viktor Koretsky.

Narod i armiya nepobedimy! [*The People and the Army Are Invincible!*].

Photomontage, 1941. Gouache on gelatin-silver print, 19. 8 x 28. 8 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 154.

Viktor Koretsky.

Da zdravstvuyut sovetskie letchiki – vernye syny nashei rodiny! [*Long Live Soviet Pilots, Faithful Sons of Our Motherland!*].

Photomontage, 1940s. Gelatin-silver print, 11. 7 x 16. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 155.

Viktor Koretsky.

Da zdarstvuet druzhba narodov Sovetskogo Soyuzu i Germanskoi Demokraticeskoi Respubliki! [*Long Live the Friendship of the Peoples of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic!*].

Photomontage, 1958. Gelatin-silver print, 12 x 18. 2 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 156.

Viktor Koretsky.

Nashi sily neischislimy [*Our Forces Are Uncountable*].

Poster, 1941. 103 x 72 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 157.

Viktor Koretsky.

Privet bortsam protiv fashizma! [*Greetings to the Fighters against Fascism!*].

Poster, 1937. 93 x 61. 8 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 158.

Viktor Koretsky.

Spasi! [*Save Us!*].

Photomontage, 1942. Gouache on gelatin-silver print, 28. 8 x 19. 1 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 159.

Nikolai Zhukov.

Bei nasmert'! [*Beat Them to Death!*].

Poster, 1942. 34. 8 x 27. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 160.

Viktor Koretsky.

Boets, spasi menya ot rabstava! [Soldier, Save Me from Slavery!].

Photomontage, 1942. Gouache on gelatin-silver print, 98 x 72 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 161.

Viktor Koretsky.

Boets, spasi etikh rebyat ot golodnoi smerti. Istreblyai nemetskikh razboinikov! [Soldier, Save these Kids from Starvation. Annihilate the German Robbers!].

Poster, 1943. 29 x 34. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 162.

Viktor Koretsky.

Smert' detoubiitsam! [Death to the Infanticides!].

Photomontage, 1942. 102 x 75 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 163.

Viktor Koretsky.

Moryak! Izbav' ot gnustnykh gadin rodnuyu devushku tvoyu! [Sailor! Save Your Dear Girl from the Disgusting Vipers!].

Poster, 1943. 47 x 35 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 164.

Viktor Deni.

Ubei fashista-izuvera! [Kill the Fascist-Monster!].

Poster, 1942. 40 x 28. 6 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 165.

Viktor Ivanov.

Dni i nochi zhdem tebya, boets! [Soldier, We Are Waiting for You Day and Night!].

Poster, 1944. 53. 4 x 79 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 166.

Petr Sokolov-Skalya.

Okno TASS No 849/849a. Brat, spasi! [TASS Window No 849/849a. Brother, Save Us!].

Stenciled poster, 1943. 233. 5 x 114 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 167.

Petr Sokolov-Skalya.

Okno TASS No 764. Izvergi [TASS Window No 764. Monsters].

Stenciled poster, 1943. 204 x 89 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 168.

Kukryniksy.

Okno TASS No 527. Ubei ego! [TASS Window No 527. Kill Him!].

Stenciled poster, 1942. 254. 2 x 119 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 169.

Fedor Antonov.

Okno TASS No 564. Mat' [TASS Window No 564. Mother].

Stenciled poster, 1942. 195 x 85. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 170.

Nikolai Khristenko.

Okno TASS No 135. Nemetskie zverstva [TASS Window No 135. German Brutality].

Painting, 1941. Oil on canvas, 145 x 123 cm. Location Anonymous. Gelatin-silver print, Russian State Library, Department of Visual Materials, Moscow.

Figure 171.

Vladimir Goryaev.

Okno TASS No 553. Spasi! [TASS Window No 553. Save Us!].

Stenciled poster, 1942. 197 x 84. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 172.

Yury Pimenov, Vladimir Vasil'ev.

Okno TASS No 412. My otomstim [TASS Window No 412. We Will Have Our Revenge].

Stenciled poster, 1942. 207 x 95 cm. Art Institute of Chicago.

Figure 173.

Nikolai Khristenko.

Okno TASS, 22. XI. 41. Smert' fashistskim okupantam! [TASS Window, 22. XI. 41. Death to the German Occupiers!].

Stenciled poster, 1941. The original is lost. Gelatin-silver print, Russian State Library, Department of Visual Materials, Moscow.

Figure 174.

Pavel Sokolov-Skalya.

Okno TASS No790. Tesnim vraga! [TASS Window No 790. We Are Putting Pressure on the Enemy!].

Stenciled poster, 1943. 181 x 100 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 175.

Viktor Koretsky.

Boets, Rodina zhdet etogo dnya! [Soldier, the Motherland Is Waiting for this Day!].

Poster, 1943. 44 x 29.5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 176.

Viktor Koretsky.

Slava 'Molodoi gvardii' Krasnodona! [Glory to the 'Young Guards' of Krasnodon!].

Poster, 1943. 45 x 48.5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 177.

Daniil Cherkes.

Okno TASS, 2. I. 42. V Novom godu – k novym pobedom! [TASS Window, 2. I. 42. A New Year -New Victories!].

Stenciled poster, 1942. The original is lost. Gelatin-silver print, Russian State Library, Department of Visual Materials, Moscow.

Figure 178.

François Rude.

La Marseillaise.

Relief, Arc de triomphe de l'Étoile, 1833-1836.

Figure 179.

Viktor Koretsky.

Novymi pobedami proslavim nashi boevye znamena! [Let's Celebrate Our Battle Banners with New Victories!].

Poster, 1944. 95 x 60 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 180.

Viktor Koretsky.

V radostnyi den' osvobozhdeniya iz pod iga nemetskikh zakhvatchikov pervye slova bezgranichnoi blagodarnosti i lyubvi sovetskikh lyudei obrascheny k nashemu drugu i otsu tovarishchu Stalinu – organizatoru nashei bor'by za svobodu i nezavisimost' nashei rodiny [On the Joyful Day of Liberation from the Yoke of the German Occupiers, We Address the First Words of Limitless Gratitude and Love to Comrade Stalin, Our Friend and Father, the Organizer of Our Struggle for Freedom and the Independence of Our Motherland].

Poster, 1943. 60 x 46. 8 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 181.

Viktor Koretsky.

Sovetskie ludi polny blagodarnosti i lubvi k rodnomu Stalinu – velikomu organizatoru nashei pobedy [*The Soviet People Are Overwhelmed with Gratitude and Love for Dear Stalin, the Great Organizer of Our Victory*].

Poster, 1945. 83. 6 x 56. 4 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 182.

Viktor Koretsky.

Skvoz' grozy siyalo nam solntse svobody,

I Lenin veliky nam put' ozaril.

Nas vyrastil Stalin – na vernost' narodu,

Na trud i na podvigi nas vdokhnovil

[*Through Days Dark and Stormy where Great Lenin Led Us*

Our Eyes Saw the Bright Sun of Freedom above

and Stalin Our leader with Faith in the People,

Inspired us to Build up the Land that We Love].

Poster, 1946. Aleksei Fedorov-Davydov. *Viktor Borisovich Koretsky*, (Moscow-Leningrad: Iskusstvo, 1949), p. 15.

Figure 183.

Viktor Koretsky.

Untitled.

Sketch for a poster, undated. Gelatin-silver print, 23 x 29, Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 184.

Viktor Koretsky.

Untitled.

Retouched photograph, undated. Paper, gouache, crayon, 12 x 23. 8 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 185.

Viktor Koretsky.

Untitled.

Retouched photograph, undated. Pencil on gelatin-silver print, pencil, 24 x 18 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 186.

Viktor Koretsky.

Untitled.

Photomontage, undated. Gelatin-silver print, 19. 7 x 28. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 187.

Viktor Koretsky.

Okno TASS No 487. Druzhinnitsy Krasnogo kresta! Ranennogo i ego oruzhiya ne ostavim na pole boia [TASS Window 487. Members of the Red Cross, We Will not Leave the Wounded and Their Arms on the Battle Field].

Stenciled poster, 1942. 198 x 136 cm. Chicago Art Institute.

Figure 188.

Viktor Koretsky.

Uzakonnenoe bespravie [Legalized Lawlessness].

Photomontage, undated. Gouache, crayon on gelatin-silver print, 12. 5 x 8 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 189.

Viktor Koretsky.

Untitled.

Photomontage, undated. Gelatin-silver print, 18. 2 x 11. 9 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 190.

Viktor Koretsky.

Untitled.

Photomontage, undated. Gelatin-silver print, 16. 2 x 10. 8 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 191.

Viktor Koretsky.

Zemle – prochnyi mir! [Stable Peace to the World!].

Poster, 1965. 65. 8 x 90. 7 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 192.

Viktor Koretsky.

Osiya [Hoshea].

Drawing, undated. Pencil on paper, 14. 2 x 9. 8 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Chapter 4.

Making Soviet Heartfield.

Figure 193.

Boris Klinsh.

Prizrak brodit po Evrope [A Spectre Is Haunting Europe].

Photomontage. *Proletarskoe foto*, No 2, 1933, p. 21.

Figure 194

Boris Klinsh.

Ruchaus' golovoi, chto v nastupayuschem godu sotsial-demokraticheskaya partiya dast rabochim vse, chto ot nee zavisit [I Stake My Head that Next Year the Social Democratic Party Will Give the Workers Everything it Can].

Photomontage. *Proletarskoe foto*, No 2, 1933, p. 22.

Figure 195.

Boris Klinch.

Bezlikiy idol sotsial-fashizma [The Faceless Idol of Social Fascism].

Photomontage. *Proletarskoe foto*, No 2, 1933, p. 20.

Figure 196.

Boris Klinch.

Litso imperialisticheskoi voyny [The Face of the Imperialist War].

Photomontage. *Proletarskoe foto*, No 7-8, 1933, colour insert.

Figure 197.

Boris Klinch.

Vot do chego byurokrat mozhet dovesti krolikov [A Bureaucrat Can Even Drive Rabbits to Despair].

Photomontage. *Proletarskoe foto*, No 2, 1933, p. 22.

Figure 198.

Boris Klinch.

U nikh i u nas [Theirs and Ours].

Photomontage. *Proletarskoe foto*, No 6, 1933, p. 25.

Figure 199.

Boris Klinch.

Otto Wells, glava sotsial-fashistskoi partii Germanii [Otto Wells, the Head of the Social-Fascist Party of Germany].

Photographic caricature. *Proletarskoe foto*, No 3, 1933, p. 7.

Figure 200.

Boris Klinch.

Sotsial-demokrat Grazhinsky [The Social Democrat Grazhinsky].

Photographic caricature. *Proletarskoe foto*, No 3, 1933, p. 7.

Figure 201.

Solomon Telingater

Cover design.

Photomontage. *1914-yi* (Moscow, MPT, 1934).

Figure 202.

Solomon Telingater

Puankare –voina ulybaetsya [Poincaré - War is Smiling].

Photomontage. *1914-yi* (Moscow, MPT, 1934), pp. 38-39.

Chapter 5.

Photomontage at the Front.

Figure 203.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled.

Collage, 1920s. Gelatin-silver prints, ink on cardboard, 26 x 19 cm. Private collection, New York.

Figure 204.

Georgii and Vladimir Stenberg .

Predatel' [The Traitor].

Poster, 1926. Christopher Mount and Peter Kenez. *Stenberg Brothers: Constructing a Revolution in Soviet Design*. [New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1997]

Figure 205.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled.

Collage, 1920s. Gelatin-silver prints on cardboard, 26 x 19 cm. Private collection, New York.

Figure 206.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled.

Collage, 1920s. Gelatin-silver prints on cardboard, 26 x 19 cm. Private collection, New York.

Figure 207.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled.

Collage, 1920s. Gelatin-silver prints, ink on cardboard, 26 x 19 cm. Private collection, New York.

Figure 208.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled.

Collage, 1920s. Gelatin-silver prints, ink on cardboard, 26 x 19 cm. Private collection, New York.

Figure 209.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled.

Collage, 1920s. Gelatin-silver prints on cardboard, 26 x 19 cm. Private collection, New York.

Figure 210.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled.

Collage, 1920s. Gelatin-silver prints, printed matter on cardboard, 26 Xx 19 cm. Private collection, New York.

Figure 211.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled.

Collage, 1920s. Gelatin-silver prints on cardboard, 26 x 19 cm. Private collection, New York.

Figure 212.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Etot kapral prividet Germaniyu k katastrofe [*This Corporal Is Leading Germany to Catastrophe*].

Photomontage, 1941. Gelatin-silver print, 23. 9 x 15. 3 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 213.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Hitler gegen Bismarck [*Hitler against Bismarck*].

Photomontage. *FIZ*, April 1942, No 7.

Figure 214.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Hitler führt Deutschland einem völligen zusammenbruch entgegen [Hitler Is Leading Germany to Complete Collapse].

Photomontage. *FIZ*, May 1942, No 12.

Figure 215.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Hört auf die Worte eines Urenkels von Bismarck [Listen to the Words of Bismarck's Great-Grandchild].

Photomontage. *FIZ*, November 1942, No 28.

Figure 216.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Kazhdyi nemetsky soldat na Vostochnom fronte - smertnik [Every German Soldier on the Eastern Front Is under Sentence of Death].

Photomontage, 1941. Gelatin-silver print, 24. 6 x 19. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 217.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Basta!

Photomontage, 1943-1944. Gelatin-silver print, 24. 2 x 17. 4 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 218.

Kukryniksy

Besposhchadno razgromim i unichtozhim vraga! [We Will Crush and Destroy the Enemy Without Mercy!].

Poster, 1941, 73. 9 x 49. 4 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 219.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Ubei beshennogo psa! [Kill the Rabid Dog!].

Photomontage, 1944. *Alexander Zhitomirsky: Political Photomontage* (San Francisco: Robert Koch Gallery, 1994), p. 33.

Figure 220.

Sergei Kostin.

Okno TASS No 109. Na tsep'! [TASS Window No 109. Chain Him!].

Stenciled poster. 1941. 17. 9 x 75. 5 cm. Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Stanford CA.

Figure 221.

Aleksandr Laktionov, Nikolai Pil'shchikov.

Fashizm –krovavoe chudovishche. Bei ego bez poshchady! [Fascism Is a Bloody Monster. Beat it without Mercy!].

Poster, 1941. 62. 2 x 45. 8 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 222.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Gebbel's: My zanyali na Kavkaze novuyu vysotu [Goebbels: We Occupied a New High Point in the Caucasus].

Photomontage, undated. Gelatin-silver print, 22. 6 x 19. 8 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 223.

Boris Efimov.

Goebbels.

Cartoon, 1941. Peter Zegers, 'A Visual Presentation of "Aryan" Descent.' *Windows of the War* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2011), p. 169.

Figure 224.

Boris Efimov.

Okno TASS No 810. Gebbel's: Moi fyurer, chto delat' s granitom, iz kotorogo my khoteli vysech' tvoi pamyatnik? [TASS Window No 810. Goebbels: My Führer, What Should we Do with the Granite from which We Wanted to Carve Your Monument?].

Stenciled poster, detail, 1943. 140 x 76 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 225.

Kukryniksy

Okno TASS No 468/468a. Proezdnom iz Germanii tsirk 'Gitler i kompaniya' [TASS Window No 468/468a. On Tour from Germany, the 'Hitler and Company' Circus].

Detail. Stenciled poster, 1942. 245. 7 X 142. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 226.

Kukryniksy

Okno TASS No 1109. Krylovskaya martyshka o Gebbel'se [TASS Window No 1109. Krylov's Monkey about Goebbels].

Stenciled poster, 1944. 126 x 116 cm. Art Insitute of Chicago.

Figure 227.

Kukryniksy

Okno TASS No 1119. Posledny nomer programmy [TASS Window No 1119. The Last Number on the Programme].

Stenciled poster, detail, 1944. 158 x 87 cm. Private collection.

Figure 228.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Gebbel's: Teper' kazhdyi nemets, dolzhen schitat' svoim elementarnym dolgom, ne sparashivat', kogda konchitsia eta voina [Goebbels: Now Every German Is Bound in Honor not to Ask When Will This War Finish].

Photomontage, undated. Gelatin-silver print, 24.5 x 18 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 229.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Es gibt Glückspilze und Pechvögel [There Are Lucky Ones and Unlucky Ones].

Photomontage. *FIZ*, April 1943, No 10.

Figure 230.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

There Are Lucky Ones and Unlucky Ones!

Photomontage, 1943. *Alexander Zhitomirsky: Political Photomontage* (San Francisco:

Robert Koch Gallery, 1994), p. 27.

Figure 231.

Pavel Sokolov-Skalya.

Okno TASS No 981. Nemetskie voiska napominayut teper' ranenog zverya [TASS Window No 981. The German Army now Looks like a Wounded Animal].

Stenciled poster, 1944. 123. 5 x 128 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 232.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Sewastopol. 300, 000 [Sebastopol. 300, 000].

Photomontage, undated. Gelatin-silver print, 21 x 19 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 233.

Pavel Sokolov-Skalya.

Okno TASS No1091. Tshchetnye potugi [TASS Window No 1091. Straining in Vain].

Stenciled poster, 1944. 147. 5 x 112. 5 cm. Art Institute of Chicago.

Figure 234.

Thomas Rowlandson.

The Corsican Spider in His Web!

Coloured etching, 1808. 32. 7 x 22, 4 cm. Bullard Collection, Brown University Library, Providence RI.

Figure 235.

Anonymous.

Deyatel'nost' i zakhvaty iudeev [The Activities and Conquests of the Jews].

Postcard, 1911. Katrazyna & Sergiusz Michalski, *Spider*, (London: Reaktion Books, 2010), p. 149.

Figure 236.

Boris Efimov.

Korichnevyi pauk [The Brown Spider].

Caricature, 1937. Ink on paper, 23. 9 x 16 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 237.

Anonymous.

Der Bolschewismus. Grosse antibolschewistische Schau [Bolshevism. The Great Anti-Bolshevist Exhibition].

Poster, 1937. 84 x 60 cm. Library of Congress, Washington DC.

Figure 238.

Vladimir Lebedev.

Okno TASS No 530. Pauki v banke [TASS Window No 530. Spiders in a Jar].

Stenciled poster, 1944. 231. 5 x 91. 5 cm. Art Institute of Chicago.

Figure 239.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Braune Spinne [The Brown Spider].

Photomontage. *FIZ*, April 1943, No 10.

Figure 240.

Edmund J. Sullivan.

The Kaiser's Garland.

Caricature, 1915. Mark Bryant. *World War I in Cartoons*. (London: Grub Street, 2006), p. 19.

Figure 241.

Faragó Géza.

At the End of the War.

Painting, undated. Tempera on cardboard, 51 x 73 cm. Private collection, Budapest.

Figure 242.

Juriaen van Streeck..

Vanitas.

Painting, c.1670. Oil on canvas, 98 x 84 cm. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow.

Figure 243.

Jan Janz Treck

Vanitas.

Painting, 1648. Oil on oak panel, 90.5 x 78.4 cm. National Gallery, London.

Figure 244.

Pavel Sokolov-Skalya.

Okno TASS No 700. 'Mertvaya golova' [TASS Window No 700. 'The Dead Head'].

Stenciled poster, 1944. 184 x 79 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 245.

Kukryniksy

Okno TASS No 873. Slezy, smekh i smert' [*TASS Window No 873. Tears, Laughter and Death*].

Stenciled poster, detail, 1943. 148 x 87 cm. Art Institute of Chicago.

Figure 246.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled.

Photomontage. *FIZ*, May 1943, No 11.

Figure 247.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Sein Kampf, dein Tod [*His Struggle, Your Death*].

Photomontage, undated. Gelatin-silver print, 19. 6 x 27. 7. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 248.

Kukruiniksui.

Okno TASS No 993. Tri goda voyny [*TASS Window No 993. Three Years of War*].

Stenciled poster, 1944. 118. 5 x 123 cm. Art Institute of Chicago.

Figure 249.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Hitlerdeutschland in der Zange [*Hitler's Germany in Pincers*].

Photomontage. *FIZ*, September 1944, No 15.

Figure 250.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Görings Einkünfte erden mit Soldatenblut und Witwentränen erkaufte [Goering's Wealth Was Bought with Soldiers' Blood and Widows' Tears].

Photomontage. *FIZ*, May 1942, No 10.

Figure 251.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Er - Du [He and You].

Page layout. *FIZ*, April 1943, No 10.

Figure 252.

Kukryniksy.

Okno TASS No 640. Prevrashchenie 'fritzev' [TASS Window No 640. The Metamorphosis of the 'Fritzes'].

Stenciled poster, 1943. 173. 5 x 124 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 253.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Montage for the cover of FIZ No 8, March 1943.

Photomontage, 1943. Gelatin-silver print, 22, 8 X 19. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 254.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Wähle Richtig – sonst wird es der Letzte Frühling deines Lebens sein [Make the Right Choice, or it Will Be the Last Spring of Your Life].

Photomontage. *FIZ*, April 1942, No 8.

Figure 255.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Mit Hitler... Fort von Hitler [With Hitler... Away from Hitler].

Photomontage. *FIZ*, January 1944, No 1.

Figure 256.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Unseren Tag [Our Day].

Page layout. *FIZ*, July 1943, No 20-21.

Figure 257.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Frühling im Kriegsgefangenenlager [Spring in the POWs' Camp].

Photomontage. *FIZ*, June 1943, No 15-16.

Figure 258.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Tri daty [Three Dates].

Photomontage, undated. Gelatin-silver print, 26. 4 x 19. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 259.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Bol'she nikogda [*Never Again*].

Photomontage, 1942. Gelatin-silver print, 40. 5 x 29. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 260.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

1800 km.

Layout of two-page spread. *FIZ*, April 1944, No 7.

Figure 261.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Hitler Frühjahrs offensive ist gescheitert [*Hitler's Spring Offensive Has Failed*].

Layout of two-page spread. *FIZ*, June 1942, No 13.

Figure 262.

Nikolai Troshin.

I tak, za Polyarnym krugom goryat i dvizhut severnuyu industriyu elektricheskie ogni

[*Finally, the Electric Lights Are Illuminating the Arctic Circle and Developing Northern Industry*].

Layout of two-page spread. *SSSR na stroike*, November 1934, No 11.

Figure 263.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Stalingrad.

Page layout. *FIZ*, February 1944, No 2.

Figure 264.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Tausende und Aber Tausende! [*Thousands and More Thousands!*].

Layout of two-page spread. *FIZ*, July 1944, No 12.

Figure 265.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Za lakirovannym zhanovesom [*Behind the Lacquered Screen*].

Photomontage, undated. Gelatin-silver print, 16. 2 x 19. 8 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 266.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Poborniki kholodnoi voiny [*The Advocates of the Cold War*].

Photomontage, 1947. Gelatin-silver print, 24. 3 x 18. 6 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 267.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Dzhon Foster Dalles – pobornik zhestkogo kursa v otnoshenii SSSR [*John Foster Dulles, an Advocate for a Tough Policy towards the USSR*].

Photomontage, 1947. Gelatin-silver print, 23. 8 x 19. 1 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 268.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Fokusy zaokeanskogo fakira [*Tricks of the Overseas Fakir*].

Photomontage, 1949. Gelatin-silver print, 23. 8 x 19. 1 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 269.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Dvuliky mister Acheson [The Double-Faced Mr. Acheson].

Photomontage, 1952. Gouache on gelatin-silver print, 44 x 34. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 270.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Amerikansky variant skazki 'Krasnaya shapochka' [The American Version of the Fairytale about Little Red Riding Hood].

Photomontage, 1952. Gelatin-silver print, 33 x 25. 3 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 271.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Shtrauss - voina [Strauss – War].

Photomontage, 1962. Gouache, pencil on gelatin-silver print, 39. 9 x 28. 9 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 272.

John Heartfield.

Zum Krisen-Parteitag der SPD [On the Crisis of the Party Congress of the SPD].

Photomontage. *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* [Berlin], No 24, 1931, p. 477.

Figure 273.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Kapitalisticheskaya akula [*The Capitalist Shark*].

Photomontage, undated. Gelatin-silver print, 30. 1 x 25. 4 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 274.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Kto sleduyushchy? [*Who Is Next?*].

Photomontage, 1968. Gouache on gelatin-silver print, 52. 3 x 38. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 275.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled.

Photomontage, 1948. Gelatin-silver print, 39. 2 x 32. 4 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 276.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Belaya kniga [*The White Book*].

Photomontage, 1949. Gouache, pencil on gelatin-silver print, 45. 3 x 33. 3 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 277.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Churchill.

Photomontage, 1950. Gelatin-silver print, 26. 8 x 25. 1 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 278.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Chempion angliiskoi diplomatii [*The Champion of British Diplomacy*].

Photomontage, 1951. Gelatin-silver print, 39. 2 x 31. 3 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 279.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Druz'ya - soyuzniki [*Friends Are Allies*].

Photomontage, 1962. Gelatin-silver print, 26. 1 x 20. 7 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 280.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Neumelyi kucher [*The Unskillful Coachman*].

Photomontage, 1948. Gouache on gelatin-silver print, 40 x 30 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 281.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Arkhiplut Bevin [*Bevin, the Arch-Trickster*].

Photomontage, 1947. Gelatin-silver print, 39 x 30 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 282.

Kukryniksy

Napoleon poterpel porazhenie. To zhe budet i s zaznavshimsya Gitlerom! [*Napoleon Failed and so Will the Conceited Hitler!*].

Poster, 1941. 47. 3 x 62. 3 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 283.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled.

Photomontage, 1950. Gouache, pencil on gelatin-silver print, 48. 3 x 34. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 284.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

De-Goll' v pokhod sobralsya [De Gaulle is about to March Off].

Photomontage, undated. Gouache, pencil on gelatin-silver print, 53 X 27 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 285.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Hail' Ettli! Hail' Trumen! [Heil Attlee, Heil Truman!].

Photomontage, 1951. Gouache, pencil on gelatin-silver print, 30 x 19 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 286.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled.

Photomontage, 1963. Gelatin-silver print, 29. 5 x 15. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 287.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Isterichesky barabanshchik [*The Hysterical Drummer*].

Photomontage, 1948. Gelatin-silver print, 24. 2 x 18. 6 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 288.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Znakomyi golos [*A Familiar Voice*].

Photomontage, 1950. Gelatin-silver print, 12. 1 x 19. 7 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 289.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Namestnik Gitlera – Adenauer [*Adenauer, Hitler's Deputy*].

Photomontage, 1952. Gelatin-silver print, 23. 8 x 18. 4 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 300.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Lehren der Geschichte [*Study History*].

Photomontage. *FIZ*, May 1943, No 13.

Figure 301.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled.

Photomontage, 1949. Gelatin-silver print, 24. 2 x 18. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 302.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled.

Photomontage, 1952. Gelatin-silver print, 31. 2 x 24. 8 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 303.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Soldaty padayut – dokhody rostut [*Soldiers Are Falling, Profits Are Growing*].

Photomontage, 1952. Gouache, pencil on gelatin-silver print, 39. 2 x 29. 6 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 304.

Richard Doyle.

Untitled.

Drawing for Olipant's *Piccadilly*, 1871. E. H. Gombrich. *The Preference for the Primitive*. (London: Phaidon, 2002), p. 258.

Figure 305.

Pavel Sokolov-Skalya.

Okno TASS No 1139. Pod znoinym nebom Argentiny [*TASS Window No 1139. Under the Sultry Sky of Argentina*].

Stenciled poster, 1943. 173. 5 x 85 cm. Art Institute of Chicago.

Figure 306.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled.

Photomontage, undated. Gelatin-silver print, 24. 8 x 23. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 307.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Perspektivy bezrassudstva [The Perspectives of Folly].

Photomontage, 1960. Gouache, pencil on gelatin-silver print, 36. 7 x 28. 9 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 308.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Kontsern-chudovishche [The Monstrous Concern].

Photomontage, 1967. Gelatin-silver print, 20. 7 x 19. 7 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 309.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled.

Photomontage, undated. Gelatin-silver print, 32. 6 x 24. 9 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 310.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Volchy appetit [A Wolf's Appetite].

Photomontage, 1947. Gelatin-silver print, 26. 3 x 18. 8 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 311.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Uoll Strit [Wall Street].

Photomontage, 1948. Gelatin-silver print, 56 x 50 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 312.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Artur Dikin [Arthur Deakin].

Photomontage, 1951. Gelatin-silver print, 22. 9 x 19. 4 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 313.

Pavel Sokolov-Skalya.

Okno TASS No 1147. Gitler i 'bratskaya Avstriya' [TASS Window No 1147. Hitler and 'Brotherly Austria'].

Stenciled poster, 1943. 177. 5 x 83. 5 cm. Art Institute of Chicago.

Figure 314.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Potogonnaya sistema [The Sweating System].

Photomontage, undated. Gelatin-silver print, 14 x 19. 2 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 315.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Sniat' brenya vooruzheny! [Release the Burden of Armament!].

Photomontage, undated. Gelatin-silver print, 21. 6 x 17. 2 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 316.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled.

Collage, undated. Ink, pencil, gelatin-silver prints on paper, 44 x 31 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 317.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

V kammennykh dzhunglyakh [In the Stone Jungles].

Photomontage, 1967. Gelatin-silver print, 27. 8 x 23. 2 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 318.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky

Untitled.

Photomontage, 1952. Gelatin-silver print, 43. 5 x 59. 9 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 319.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Plan Marshalla [The Marshall Plan].

Photomontage, undated. Gelatin-silver print, 30 x 25 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 320.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled.

Photomontage, undated. Gouache on gelatin-silver print, 27 x 39, 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 321.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Lockheed.

Photomontage, 1961. Gelatin-silver print, 26. 4 x 24. 5 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 322.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Vsadnik bez golovy [The Headless Horseman].

Photomontage, 1981. Gouache on gelatin-silver print, 39. 8 x 55 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 323.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Na skam'e podsudimyykh [In the Dock].

Collage, 1949. Gelatin-silver print, gouache, ink, pencil on colored paper, 27. 8 x 23. 2 cm.

Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 324.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Untitled.

Drawing, undated. Ink, gouache, pencil on paper, 31. 7 x 18 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.

Figure 325.

Raoul Hausmann.

Self-Portrait of a Dadasopher.

Collage, 1920. 36 x 28 cm. Private collection.

Figure 326.

John Heartfield.

Cover design.

Photomontage. Günther Reimann, *Das Deutsche Wirtschaftswunder* (Berlin: Vereinigung Internationaler, Verlagsanstalten 1927.)

Figure 327.

Aleksandr Zhitomirsky.

Svoboda konkurentsii kontsernov [*The Freedom of Competition for Corporations*].

Photomontage, 1962. Gelatin-silver print, 29. 4 x 39. 8 cm. Ne Boltai Collection.